

CHRISTUS VICTOR

A STUDY IN THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

by

Roger A. Sizemore

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate Roger A. Sizemore

Address.....

Degree Phd.

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Title of Thesis Christus Victor: A Study in the Theology of St. Paul

This thesis has three objectives: (1) To demonstrate that the apostle Paul expresses his atonement-theology in dramatic, apocalyptic and cosmic thought patterns; (2) to point out the aspects of a Christus Victor motif which are firmly established in the earliest kerygma of the church; (3) and to discuss Paul's interpretation of how this atonement victory was realized.

The nature of this study requires that we deal only with what for the purposes of this study we consider to be the "undisputed" epistles of Paul: Romans, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians and I Thessalonians.

The Christus Victor theme cannot be discussed in isolation from the apostle's atonement-theology in its entirety. The categories of flesh, law, sin and death comprise the major part of the Pauline atonement doctrine and may, therefore, form the basis of our discussion.

In referring to mankind, Paul applies the word σάρξ with such unique nuance as to imply that the "flesh" is evil. Mankind as σάρξ has become mankind as "σάρξ -only." This "σάρξ -only" orientation includes both the "desire" to do evil and the religious "desire" to secure a righteousness of one's own under law.

The apostle Paul shows no speculative interest in Satan and his company. The demonic power which works upon man is sin. Sin kills, destroys, seduces, causes rebellion, enslaves and possesses the individual.

In Paul, sin-existence and death-existence are equated. Death is sin's logical "wages," a destructive power of chaos which would throw back God's mighty life-creating hand. Paul saw death in its full demonic horror as the dreaded "last enemy" of God, the lostness of man and cosmos without the Creator.

The emphasis upon victory is no product of the late church, nor is it an assimilation of Gnostic ideas from outside. Christ is the "bridgehead" and "foothold," the "citadel of holiness" where God's spirit-power is triumphantly present as "guarantee" and assurance of victory. Christ's attaining of victory involves two factors: (1) Christ was the pre-existent Son of God (2) and he was completely obedient, implying sinlessness and victory of holiness in this world of σάρξ.

Man is released from the slavery of the past aeon of law and the demonic ἔργα τοῦ κόσμου. Righteousness is a gift and a power available only in Christ. "Paranesis" tradition urges the believer to remain in this power-relationship of the δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ. Paul expands upon the early sacrificial and cultic tradition adjusting the early kerygma to portray in the gentile mission situation Christ's universal and cosmic atonement action.

Cosmology and soteriology are united in Paul. Victory over death and Christ's lordship over "all things" of this world are part of the same hope based upon the monotheistic presuppositions of early mission kerygma. Those who are "in Christ" participate in this victory not as an "already" but as a "not-yet" of Christian confession and hope in the obedience of faith. Therefore, calling upon the "name" (=power) of the Κύριος in baptism and in confessions of early Christianity involves the declaration that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been acclaimed kosmokrator designatus until the parousia when God will be all in all.

TO MY FATHER,

A PASTOR ALSO TO HIS OWN

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PREFACE

This work was undertaken with the conviction that New Testament scholarship should give more attention to the evidences for a Christus Victor doctrine of the atonement in Pauline theology. Certainly, in such a study we cannot touch upon the apostle's atonement-theology in its entirety. Therefore, it should be remembered that throughout this inquiry only the cosmic aspects of the Pauline doctrine of the atonement come under consideration.

If it seems that we have given excessive attention to German New Testament scholarship, this is because it was our impression that past studies of Pauline atonement-theology in English tended to overlook much in this area of research.

A word should be said about our method of investigation. The first section of our thesis is devoted to a history of scholarship study in which we attempt to define terms. The second section endeavors to demonstrate by exegesis that there is evidence for cosmic aspects in Pauline thought and that a Christus Victor theme is present in the earlier letters. Thus we need to ask how this victory is achieved.

Previous studies favorably disposed to this cosmic emphasis of Christ's atonement action are inclined to base their arguments upon the disputed epistles of Colossians and Ephesians. Even if one accepts the Pauline authorship of Colossians and Ephesians, some elements in these epistles must be judged as being late and

at times even uniquely in contrast with the rest of the corpus Paulinum. Because it was our feeling that an investigation should be made as to whether aspects of cosmic victory might be found in the earlier Pauline letters, it becomes necessary to work from what we might designate as the undisputed epistles of Paul.

For the sake of this study, Romans, I Corinthians, II Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians and I Thessalonians are those letters which we define as undisputed.¹ I am not inclined to view the arguments against the Pauline authorship of Colossians and II Thessalonians as conclusive. However, that these two letters may at least be regarded as "disputed" can be easily demonstrated.

The influential studies on this problem by Lohmeyer, Percy and Dibelius — and more recently by Kuemmel and Hegermann — have accepted this letter as being from Paul. However, it is certainly an exaggeration to state as Wikenhauser does that the "...Brief [Colossians] wird heute auch auf seiten der Kritik fast allgemein [*italics mine*] als echt anerkannt."² The opinions of such leading contemporary scholars as Bultmann, Kaesemann, Bornkamm, Schweizer, Fuchs, Schoeps, Eckart, Marxsen and J. Knox comprise a glaring contradiction to this "allgemein."

¹The epistle to Philemon, which may also be considered undisputed, does not come into our discussion.

²Alfred Wikenhauser, Einleitung in das Neue Testament (zweite Auflage; Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1956), p. 297. [ET] New Testament Introduction, p. 416.

Since the important works of J. Graafen¹ and Martin Dibelius² many arguments can be made in favor of the authenticity of II Thessalonians. Neil, Oepke, Staab, Brunec, Grant, Clogg, T. W. Manson, Moffatt, Goodspeed, Lake, Nock, J. Knox, West, Selwyn and Spicq are worthy of mention among those in the more modern period of scholarship who affirm the Pauline authorship of this letter. However, the issue is far from being settled for Bultmann, Bornkamm, Eckart, Becker, Schoeps, Fuchs and Marxsen raise significant objections to accepting this letter as being from the apostle.

In our thesis, unless otherwise noted, all English scripture quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. The New Testament Greek text consulted in this study was Nestle's 24th edition, 1960. The method of documentation is according to Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964).

I wish to express a special debt of gratitude to my advisors, Rev. Dr. Ian A. Moir and the Rev. R. A. S. Barbour whose wide acquaintance with the field of New Testament scholarship and meticulous care in reading the manuscript were an indispensable benefit in bringing this work to completion. I should like to acknowledge also the many helpful suggestions given to me in interviews with Prof. Dr. Ernst Kaesemann, Tuebingen, Germany;

¹Die Echtheit des zweiten Briefes an die Thessalonicher (Muenster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930).

²An die Thessalonicher, I, II; an die Philipper, ~~HNT~~ (dritte neubearbeitete Auflage; Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1937).

Prof. G. W. Anderson and the Rev. J. B. Torrance of New College, Edinburgh.

Financial assistance for this study came from the educational scholarship funds of the East Forty-Ninth Street Christian Church, Indianapolis, Indiana; First Christian Church, Stow, Ohio and the LaBelle View Christian Church, Steubenville, Ohio to whom I am deeply grateful. I should like to express my appreciation to the staffs of the libraries at New College, Edinburgh and the University of Tuebingen, Germany. I am especially grateful to those of the Disciples of Christ Institute in Christian Origins, Tuebingen, Germany for their many kindnesses shown to me. This work could not have been concluded without the assistance of my wife who in countless ways has made it possible for me to devote full-time to study.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>DEdG</u>	=	<u>Das Ende des Gesetzes</u>
<u>EJ</u>	=	<u>Eranos Jahrbuch</u>
<u>[ET]</u>	=	<u>English Translation</u>
<u>EvTh</u>	=	<u>Evangelische Theologie</u>
<u>EvuB</u>	=	<u>Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen</u>
<u>GluV</u>	=	<u>Glauben und Verstehen</u>
<u>HTR</u>	=	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>JBL</u>	=	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JThS</u>	=	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>KuD</u>	=	<u>Kerygma und Dogma</u>
<u>NT</u>	=	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
<u>NTS</u>	=	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>NTT</u>	=	<u>New Testament Theologies of respective scholars</u>
<u>RGG</u>	=	<u>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</u>
<u>SJT</u>	=	<u>Scottish Journal of Theology</u>
<u>St-B</u>	=	<u>Strack-Billerbeck</u>
<u>ThLZ</u>	=	<u>Theologische Literaturzeitung</u>
<u>ThStK</u>	=	<u>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</u>
<u>ThZ</u>	=	<u>Theologische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>TWNT</u>	=	<u>Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u>
<u>ZNW</u>	=	<u>Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft</u>
<u>ZSyTh</u>	=	<u>Zeitschrift fuer systematische Theologie</u>
<u>ZThK</u>	=	<u>Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche</u>

CHAPTER I

THE DEMONIC POWERS IN THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PAUL:

A HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Introduction.---In this chapter we select only some representative studies which have played an important role in shaping the modern understanding of the demonic powers in the New Testament. Specific questions will be considered which are essential for any proper study of our subject. What, for instance, is the relationship between the Pauline and New Testament concept of demonic powers and the cosmic world view presented to us from other earlier literature? To what extent are these powers to be taken seriously by contemporary "modern" mankind? And what is the verdict of scholarship on the proper approach to investigating this most elusive subject? By putting such definite questions to New Testament scholarship, we will be able to discover what may eventually serve as guidelines to our study of the Pauline atonement victory theme.

A. The Period from Baur to Dibelius: 1860-1909

The historical and psychological explanations.---F. C. Baur wished to discover the historical situation of early Christianity and was therefore not too much interested in categories of the mythological.¹ The focus of Pauline scholarship in the post-Baur

¹Cf., Werner Georg Kuemmel, Das Neue Testament, Geschichte der Forschung seiner Probleme (Muenchen: Verlag Karl Alber, 1958), p. 162.

era also showed a reluctance to deal with the theological significance of Satan and the demonic powers.¹ Since Luedemann² and Holsten³ until as late as Clemen⁴ and Holtzmann⁵ another concern

¹General works previous to F. C. Baur include Platina, De angelis et daemonibus, 1740; Gerbert, Daemonurgia theologicæ expensæ, 1766; Mayer, Historia Diaboli, 1780; Menken, Beitrag zur Daemonologie, 1780; Sambuga, Der Teufel: ein Neujahrsgeſchenk, 1810; Winzer, De doemonologie Nouveau Testament, 1812; von Coelln, Biblische Theologie, Band II, 1836, pp. 222-233; Hoeffel, La démonologie des quatre Evangiles, 1844; Reuss, Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne, Tome I, 1852. However, with the beginning of modern New Testament criticism, the presuppositions of such studies as these must be considered inappropriate for our investigation.

²Hermann Luedemann, Die Anthropologie des Apostels Paulus. (Kiel: Universitaets Buchhandlung, 1872).

³C. Holsten, Das Evangelium des Paulus (Berlin: Verlag von G. Reimer, 1880).

⁴Carl Clemen, Paulus, sein Leben und Wirken (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1904).

⁵Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, II (Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1897), p. 5f. Cf., also idem, Paulus (zweitende Auflage; Leipzig: Fues's Verlag, 1866), pp. 204ff., and Ibid, II, 1867, p. 277.

of research centered upon the psychological aspects of Paul's conversion experience.¹ Such an interest was also combined with a suspicion of the supernatural elements in Pauline thought.

In Baur's theological lectures, there was only an incidental reference to demonic powers;² and during this same period such theological studies as those by Neander,³ Beyschlag,⁴ Immer,⁵ and Bovon⁶ also failed to take seriously the importance of the spirit world of the apostle Paul.

Nevertheless, even though the common theological climate was such that "...wenn man den Plan kundgiebt, die angelologischen und

¹ Albert Schweitzer pointed out how this era of scholarship was imbued with a psychologizing theory which had the tendency to spiritualize Paul's ideas. However, for some time now a psychological approach had proved to be a ready-made escape from dealing with the reality of the demon powers. Cf., Paul and His Interpreters, trans. W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), p. 296. For an early example illustrating the above statement, cf., T. H. Meyer, "Ueber die Daemonischen im Neuen Testament, ein psychologisch-apologetisch Versuch," ThStK, VII (1834), where the demonic is acclaimed as a piece of "juedischer Volks-Vorurteil" [p. 901] and the sharpness of the Pauline theology becomes blunted by stating that the only demon is man's own "innere boese Lust, der boese Gedanke und Wille." [p. 904].

² F. C. Baur, Vorlesungen ueber neutestamentliche Theologie (Leipzig: Feus's Verlag, 1864), pp. 171, 204.

³ August Neander, Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche (fuenfte Auflage; Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes Verlag, 1862), pp. 399, 619.

⁴ Willibald Beyschlag, Neutestamentliche Theologie, II (Halle: Verlag Euten Strien, 1892), p. 102.

⁵ A. Immer, Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Bern: J. Dalp'sche Buchhandlung, 1877), p. 117.

⁶ Jules Bovon, Théologie du Nouveau Testament, II (Lousanne: George Bridel Editeurs, 1906), p. 64.

daemonischen Vorstellungskreise der neutestamentlichen Schriften einer Betrachtung zu unterziehen, dem vornehm ueberlegenen Laecheln mancher Theologen begegnen..."¹; works dealing with the subject of the demonic realm did appear. Many, however, in keeping with the then current trends of scholarship, showed purely a historical interest in the subject. Among those which fit this latter category should be mentioned the two volume study by Roskoff.² He claimed that his was an attempt "die Geschichte des Teufels nach seinem Ursprungs und seiner weitem Entwicklung unter culturgeschichtlichem Gesichtspunkte darzustellen..."³ He stated that "Natur und Geschichte" were the two factors that conditioned the development of the concept of Satan. At that time, the influence of the Hegelian view of history caused Roskoff to hold that doctrines, like customs, were, in a cause and effect scheme, mere products of the environment; and therefore the significance of Satan could be completely explained as a deposit of Babylonian culture assimilated by the Jewish peoples.⁴ Roskoff tended to operate in terms of a clear-cut dualism where Christ was depicted as the

¹Otto Everling, Die paulinische Angelologie und Daemonologie (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1888), p. 3.

²Gustav Roskoff, Geschichte des Teufels, I, II (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1869). Cf., also H. G. Hoelemann, Die Reden des Satan (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1875). For further historical approaches to the subject of Satan see the bibliography in the article "Teufel," RGK, VI (dritte Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1962), cols. 707, 705.

³Roskoff, op. cit., I, p. 8.

⁴Ibid., p. 196.

spirit of life, opposed to the evil symbolized in the figure of Satan.¹ There is a brief section of his book which dealt with the Biblical idea of Satan; but the results are disappointingly vague and must be judged little more than descriptive in nature. Here in Roskoff is to be found a cultural determinism and a claim to historic objectivity which does injustice to the theological meanings contained in the New Testament imagery.²

For Laengin, Paul could also be categorized as a "Kind seiner Zeit," who should not actually be taken seriously when he states that "there are many 'gods' and many 'lords'."³ The demonic powers were played down by Laengin and any victory over them by Christ was merely said to be "...Christenthum [*sic*] wird von einem Stueck heidnisch-juedischen Aberglaubens befreit."⁴ One gains the impression from the author's own apology for this study⁵ that its purpose was only to regain an appreciation for the thought patterns of New Testament times with no further regard for the real theological importance of this mythical language.

¹Ibid., pp. 205, 211.

²This same weakness should be pointed out in reference to Paul Carus, The History of the Devil (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truebner and Co., 1900) and Kohut, "Angelologie und Daemonologie in ihrer Abhangigkeit vom Parsismus," Die Abhandlung der deutschen morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft, XIX (Leipzig: in Commision bei F. A. Brochhaus, 1866).

³Georg Laengin, Die biblischen Vorstellung vom Teufel und ihr religioeser Wert (Leipzig: Otto Wigand Verlag, 1890). The author claims that here [I Cor. viii. 5] Paul only uses "durch diesen Auspruch ein Anflug von Ironie." pp. 83, 86.

⁴Ibid., p. 97.

⁵Ibid., p. 91.

Hafner affirmed that the topic of the demonic powers "ist etwas an der Peripherie des Glaubens..."¹ In his study, originally a lecture to psychologists and doctors, Hafner identified Biblical demon possession with actual physical sickness of modern times.² Such a questionable thesis was quickly objected to by Laehr,³ a medical doctor, who stated that what was called demon possession should more properly be designated as bacteria. Laehr sarcastically dubbed Hafner's theology "bakterium daemonicum Hafneri."⁴

Fortunately, during this period, works like Hafner's were not at the center of scholarship; nevertheless, they reflect the futility of efforts to fuse the Biblical exposition of the demonic world with modern categories and further underline the need to refrain from superimposing our contemporary presuppositions, whether historical or psychological, upon the Biblical texts.

Weser's study was one of the most valuable contributions to Pauline scholarship made during this era.⁵ He strongly argued

¹Georg Hafner, Die Daemonischen des Neuen Testaments (Frankfurt: Verlag von Karl Brechert, 1894), p. 5.

²Ibid., pp. 10, 19, 22.

³Hans Laehr, Die Daemonischen des Neuen Testaments (Leipzig: Verlag von Fr. Richter, 1894).

⁴Ibid., p. 15.

⁵Hermann Weser, "Die verschiedenen Auffassungen vom Teufel im Neuen Testament," ThStK, LIV (1881).

that one must not assume the attributes of Satan were the same throughout the various authors of the New Testament. His study was atypical because he insisted that: "Zu keiner Zeit haben diese Dämonen fuer gaenzlich existenzlos und reine Gebilde des Aberglauben gegalten."¹ According to Weser, the idea of demons was undoubtedly older than that of Satan and it was not until the appearance of the Messiah that a counter-kingdom, headed by Satan with his demons, as "die logische Konsequenz," was clearly discernible. The activity of Satan as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels corresponds to his commission in the Old Testament as "Versucher und Verfuehrer." In the Synoptics this demonic realm was seen as a reality, a lordship over this world. But, unlike the Old Testament, it's rule is temporary since there was a place "prepared" for the devil and his angels. After a study of the Synoptics, Weser maintains that Satan was there pictured as the head of demons; but, at the same time: "Die Dämonen stehen als einer der vielen Mittel dem Reiche Gottes...gehören aber — wie auch im Alten Testament — zu einer ganz anderen Klasse von Wesen als der Teufel."² The Synoptic accounts suggest to Weser that demons were associated with the supernatural or unusual, with sickness, tombs, waste places and even extraordinary men. However, in the Devil we have an outright opponent, a "Widersacher Gottes," with moral responsibility for his actions. The demons in this respect were largely neutral entities.

¹Ibid., p. 285.

²Ibid., p. 287.

Weser believed that Paul visualized victory over Satan and the demonic powers as contingent upon Christ's sinless life, his death and resurrection events whereas in the Synoptics: "...die blosse Erscheinung des Messias schon des Teufels Ohnmacht [sic] offenbart."¹

This difference in the attitudes of the New Testament authors must be taken seriously. Because each New Testament writer adds his own note of individuality, it serves to warn us against the conjecture that the New Testament viewpoint must be entirely determined by environmental conditions.

Schwarzkopff likewise rejected the then current "psychologischen und sittlich -religioesen Gesichtspunkte." However, his conclusions brought nothing new into the discussion since his study went no further than to explain as regards demonology that there existed an interrelationship between the New Testament writers and the doctrine of Satan in Persian traditions.² Such a statement is instructive and in places this influence can certainly be established. But, as information alone, this citing of parallels is not sufficient for an adequate theological grasp of the New Testament interpretation of Satan and the demonic powers. The presumption would also need to be proved that Paul adopted these Babylonian traditions with the same meaning and nuance. This assumption we find after further investigation becomes increasingly

¹Ibid., p. 293. Cf., also Gustav Hoennicke, "Die Teufels-idee in dem Evangelium," Festschrift fuer Georg Heinrici, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1914), p. 211.

²R. Schwarzkopff, "Der Teufels -und Daemonenglaube Jesu," ZThK, VII (1897), pp. 289, 291.

difficult to maintain.¹

The "religionsgeschichtliche" correction.---It is true that it was not until 1903 with the publication of Hermann Gunkel's Zum religionsgeschichtliche Verstaendnis des Neuen Testaments² that this method of scholarship came into prominence. However, if we can accept as correct that this discipline had as its aim: "...to see how far the doctrines of primitive Christianity, instead of being simply a development of faith in Jesus, went back to a preëxisting [sic] strain in Jewish or extra Jewish beliefs with which that faith in Jesus had been combined,"³ then it becomes clear that, even though Gunkel paved the way for a new scholarly approach, we must not forget that the principles for which he argued

¹In recent scholarship it has been repeatedly confirmed that the more one attempts to find, even in Jewish literature, background parallels for the Pauline ideas, all the more pronounced become the dissimilarities. Bonsirven notices between Paul and the rabbis "...deux formes de pensée et de composition et...deux usages de l'Écriture spécifiquement distincts. Comment expliquer la coexistence légitime de ces deux impressions? S. Paul est un rabbin, devenu évangéliste chrétien." Joseph Bonsirven, Exégèse Rabbinique et Exégèse Paulinienne (Paris: Beauchesne et ses Fils, 1939), p. 348, cf., 324. Michel feels that Paul many times uses his sources in such a way as to fit his present Christian situation: "Auch muesste darauf hingewiesen werden, dass ein guter Teil der paulinischen Zitate nur im Zusammenhang mit paulinischem Denken und paulinischer Theologie ihren Sinn bekommen konnte." Otto Michel, Paulus und seine Bibel (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1929), p. 87, cf., pp. 83, 102. Cf., also in this regard the statement by Ellis: "If Paul used Jewish interpretations, he culled and moulded them to a Christological understanding of the OT; if he was a 'child of his times,' they were for Paul the times of the Messiah...Paul was a disciple of Christ not of Gamaliel." E. Earle Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), p. 83, cf., pp. 113, 148.

²(Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903).

³Luigi Salvatorelli, "From Locke to Reitzenstein," HTR, XXII (1929), p. 327. Cf., also Kuemmel, op. cit., pp. 262, 275, 314, et passim.

were present in earlier adherents. The "religionsgeschichtliche Schule" spelled out what was to become the death blow to a purely internal type of exegesis. This method signified a correction to earlier scholarship.

Otto Everling was one of these pioneers for his monograph in 1888¹ was the first thorough treatment of Pauline angelology and demonology employing "religionsgeschichtliche" methods. In many respects his work cut sharply across the prevailing academic environment. He rejected the notion that Satan was a vague "kosmischen Princip"²; and regarded as groundless Baur's assumption that in Paul's letters demons and angels were used merely "bildlich und sprichwoertlich."³ For the sake of truth and religious life the exegete was depicted as having the pressing obligation "...nichts an der eigenartigen Faerbung der biblischen Vorstellungen zu verwischen, zu vergeistigen und rationalistisch zu modernisieren..."⁴ Operating upon this solid exegetical principle, Everling's work was a healthy corrective to the scholarship of this period. His approach was a workable third alternative to the option between the psychological and purely historical approaches. His study opened the way for a type of research which was to prove quite fruitful in dealing with the elusive nature of such a subject as the spirit world of Paul.

A wealth of information, in the main from the apocrypha

¹Everling, op. cit.; cf., supra, p. 4, n. 1.

²Ibid., p. 60.

³Ibid., p. 4, cf., p. 15.

⁴Ibid., p. 126.

and pseudepigrapha, was brought forth as background material for a better understanding of the Pauline texts. Here in Everling's assertions we continue to encounter a basic deterministic presumption: "Der Historiker sich doch sagen, dass Paulus die Schrift in seiner Zeit studiert hat, in den Anschauungsformen seiner Zeit mit den Voraussetzungen der Schule, in welcher er aufwuchs..." and that therefore efforts of scholarship should be "...nachzuforschen, so weit es die erhaltene Litteratur moeglich macht, in welcher Form die Ideen des Alten Testaments im apostolischen Zeitalter lebendig und gangbar waren; in dieser Gestalt leben sie auch im Bewusstsein der neutestamentlichen Schriftsteller."¹

Again we need to put a large question mark over such bold cause-effect assumptions and ask if they are as flawless as these early scholars would suppose.

Everling's study was the first to concentrate upon the "Hauptbriefe,"² where he found ample attestation that Paul's doctrine of Satan was to be understood as that of a lordship over a host of angel powers.³ These powers could be classified not only by their function but also in terms of their nature as

¹Ibid., p. 57.

²There seems to have been only two predecessors of Everling, who, using the same "religionsgeschichtliche" methods, gave serious attention to the doctrine of the demonic powers: Albert Kloepper, Der Brief an die Kolosser, (Berlin: G. Reimer Verlag, 1882) and Friedrich Spitta, Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1885).

³Everling, op. cit., p. 123.

either "good" or "bad."¹ To Everling's thinking such lines of demarcation were possible to discern in Paul because there was a strict and absolute separation into a dualistic way of thinking in the apostle's theology. Supported at one point by the authority of rabbinic tradition, Everling indicated that "jeder Mensch ist irgend einem aehnlich. Entweder traegt er das Bild Gottes oder des Teufels an sich."²

By a study of the Greek names, he made arbitrary attempts to arrange the various powers into an ordered hierarchy³ over whose realm two lords, Satan and God, presided.

For the most part, the nature of Christ's victory over the demon powers was left to the imagination even though there were a few allusions to the fact that somehow the powers had now been "subordinated" [unterordnen] through Christ.⁴ We will see in subsequent works the same ambiguity regarding this question. It is curious that Everling's defence of his own work claims its justification in the mere impartation of knowledge about the Pauline spirit world. Any seeking out of the present-day

¹Cf., Ibid., pp. 21, 118.

²Ibid., p. 50.

³A good example of these forced categories occurs when Everling argues that "thrones" and "lordships" are of a higher class of angels. Ibid., p. 123.

⁴Ibid., pp. 98, 100.

theological relevance of Paul's thought on these matters was completely ignored almost as if it were an illegitimate quest.¹

In spite of the above criticisms, Everling's belief that "...die originalen grossen Denker die Vorstellungen ueber die Geisterwelt, Engel und Teufel sich nicht selbst schaffen, sondern mit dem Zeitbewusstsein teilen..."² forced a consideration of exegetical background materials. This approach contributed greatly to our understanding of what was believed about the nature and operation of these demon powers, information which heretofore had been greatly hidden by methods of research which failed to look beyond the New Testament texts themselves. Supported chiefly from parallels in the Book of Enoch and the Ascension of Isaiah, angelology and demonology were shown to be a vital part of Paul's world view. Such insights resulting from the "religionsgeschichtliche" discipline must be noted as a significant turning point; it now seems unprofitable to revert to what we might call a purely internal exegetical method.

Unfortunately, not all followed this new approach to New Testament scholarship. Following the lead of so many others of this period, Hagan, a Roman Catholic writer, also assumed Paul's thought on Satan to be a wholesale assimilation from Persia.³ Like Everling, he saw the Devil as ruler over angelic powers.⁴

¹Ibid., pp. 125ff.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³Martin Hagan, Der Teufel im Lichte der Glaubensquellen (Freiberg: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1899), p. 5.

⁴Ibid., p. 20.

He rejected, however, the doctrine of a strict dualism when he comments: "Ein Satan der als selbstaendige Gottesmaecht, gleichsam als Gegengott, dem ewigen Gotte [sic] gegenuebersteht, ist freilich in der heiligen Schrift nicht zu finden..."¹ There is little more than this which we can consider as a new observation; for he identified the victory over the powers with the triumphant "Corpus Christianum" rather than with Christ.² He was so much concerned about the defence of the "kirklichen Dogma" that he neglects the Biblical witnesses.³ Unfortunately, there is quite a dearth of lucidity in Hagan's whole approach. He launches out at Schwarzkoff for his low Christology, at Laehr for psychologizing and all those "Professoren und Schriftsteller" who would undermine "Glauben an die goettliche Inspiration der heiligen Schrift."⁴ Such apologetics makes it easy for us to accept as accurate Hagan's own comment that his work was simply a "meandering" through the topic of New Testament demonology.⁵

Although Gunkel⁶ dealt with Genesis i and Revelation xii, his work is worthy of our attention if for no other reason than that here we see "religionsgeschichtliche" method at its most thoroughgoing application. For Gunkel, the Babylonian myth of

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Ibid., p. 37.

³Ibid., p. 59.

⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁵"Wir haben das Gebiet der neutestamentlichen Daemonologie durchwandert." [sic] Ibid., p. 49.

⁶Hermann Gunkel, Schoepfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895).

Marduk's struggle against Tiamat formed the background of Genesis i; and Revelation xii "ist nicht christlichen Ursprung... ist nicht juedischem Ursprungs" but can also be ascribed to a Babylonian source through late Judaism. He claimed to have found "...eine neue Methode fuer die Exegese der Apokalypse"¹ in that apocalyptic literature was not to be seen as the work of a single author but as an editorial collection from a variety of traditions. According to Gunkel, Revelation xii is represented as having no relation to the historical Jesus since only the birth and exaltation are mentioned and not the death and resurrection. A prevalent Jewish eschatology is also in evidence.² As earlier in the case of Weser, we are once more forced to acknowledge that there are substantial distinctions between the various New Testament books. In Pauline theology it would be unthinkable to speak of Christ's conquest of Satan and his company exclusive of the death and resurrection.

In this same year, Bousset, who acknowledged that Gunkel had laid down "die Gesetze fuer die Auslegung aller apokalyptisch-eschatologischen Tradition,"³ reviewed sources analogous to the "Anti-Christ" expectation. He departed from Gunkel, however, for, instead of examining the ancient Babylonian myths, he turned to investigate much post-Christian tradition. Unfortunately, his

¹Ibid., p. 207.

²Ibid., pp. 197, 223.

³Wilhelm Bousset, Der Antichrist in der Ueberlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1895), p. 3. [ET] The Antichrist Legend, p. 6.

results are both partial and undeveloped since Bousset progressed no further than the listing of striking parallels with no attempt to draw conclusions. It must also be noted that many of the parallels he cites are considerably later than the New Testament itself.

Heitmüller acknowledged intimate connections between the "name" of Jesus and its power to dispel the demonic forces. Because his survey made wide use of the Greek magical papyri, he came down heavily on the side of the Christian victory as being a kind of "warding off"¹ of the demonic powers, akin to a type of Christian exorcism. We will learn later that such a description is perhaps an accurate account of tradition underlying the Synoptic narratives but this proves meager and incomplete when dealing with the complexities of the Pauline ideas.

Alfred Jeremias, without apology, was convinced that the "religionsgeschichtliche" form of scholarship had proved Christianity to be fundamentally a "synkretistische Religion." Thus it seemed not illogical to assume that: "Häufiger stossen wir auf orientalische Formen in den apostolischen Schriften, insbesondere bei Paulus..."² In effect, according to Jeremias, Paul's theology had

¹The "name" is "...eine objektive Macht, welche die Dämonen respektieren, vor der sie weichen und zurückschrecken." Wilhelm Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903), p. 143. This idea is not unlike the ancient custom of placing an idol before the door to drive away the demon who "Leib und Leben in Gefahr bringt..." Hans Duhm, Die bösen Geister im Alten Testament, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1904), p. 9.

²Alfred Jeremias, Babylonisches im Neuen Testament (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905), p. 5.

bestowed upon the person of Jesus the character of an "oriental-
ischer Messias Mythologie."¹ The victory of Christ was "...in
den Bildern und Faerben des altorientalischen Mythos vom Kampf
und Sieg des Jahrgottes geschildert."²

Admittedly, some of the above scholars represented extreme
positions of the period. Nevertheless, during this time when the
"religionsgeschichtliche" method was most popular, there was
mounting suspicion that a mere indication of vivid parallels
deduced from the demonic world of Persian cosmologies and ancient
traditions was a pointless course for research as far as many
passages in the New Testament are concerned.

B. The Period from Dibelius to Grundmann: 1909-1932

Innovations, modifications and reconstructions.---In 1909,
with the publication of Martin Dibelius' Die Geisterwelt im
Glauben des Paulus,³ there ^{were} ~~was~~ set forth exegetical principles
which meant a definite change in methodology. In English New
Testament scholarship the value of this work is often extolled;
and yet, when one attempts to discover any thorough utilization
of its findings on the part of subsequent research, only a
conspicuous void is encountered. Therefore, it becomes not
only legitimate but imperative that a somewhat detailed appraisal
of this influential monograph be adequately and fairly presented.

Dibelius outlined his purpose of study and at the same
time revealed what was the great impotence of the "religions-
geschichtliche" position: "Ich wollte nicht nur eine Sammlung von

¹Ibid., p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 14.

³(Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909).

Parallelen geben, sondern die einzelnen Vorstellungen nach ihrer Herkunft und ihrer Bedeutung fuer Paulus befragen."¹ It was, however, to the credit of Dibelius that he did not completely discard the valuable possibilities of the "religionsgeschichtliche" method but only set out to correct some of the excesses² and to introduce a greater attention to the theological issues.

In contrast to Everling, Dibelius reminded us that Paul's thought world was that of the Jewish rabbinic literature,³ monotheistic in character,⁴ and that therefore a strict dualistic dichotomy between the realms of good and evil was to be held as suspect. It seems that the extreme interest in showing oriental sources for some of the Pauline ideas had led to a belief that the apostle absorbed a similar type of dualism. It was not until the publication of Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus that this inaccuracy was remedied; and we need to emphasize that since subsequent scholars have tended to neglect Dibelius' work, they often repeat this and other distortions which his study attempted to displace. Though not denying that angel classes existed in early Jewish tradition, Dibelius, on the basis of Paul's monotheism, challenged Everling's bid to catalogue these entities into fixed

¹Ibid., p. iii. [From the "Vorwort"].

²He pointed out that one must not assume that the mere prevalence of kindred ideas in contemporary literature is sufficient proof that Paul made use of them in their existing form or with the same meaning. Ibid., p. 4, cf. p. 181.

³Ibid., pp. 2ff.

⁴Ibid., pp. 68, 74.

"good" or "evil" denominations.¹

According to Dibelius, Paul shared the Jewish "Volkerengel" doctrine which taught that there were agents of God's heavenly court who stood behind all which occurred in the world below.²

Satan was pictured as playing the three roles of "Anklaegers des Verfuehrers und des Vernichters von Leib und Leben" and it was considered important to question, in every text, which role was being communicated.³ All this deliberation over the nature of the other-worldly powers led Dibelius to deal with eschatology⁴ and Christology,⁵ his conclusion being that any treatment of the spiritual realm of Paul lands one at the very heart of the apostle's theology.⁶

¹Because Paul made no systematic presentation of the spirit world, Dibelius insisted that: "Darum scheint mir eine Eroerterung der Frage nach den Engelklassen bei Paulus ziemlich belanglos zu sein. Das Judentum kannte Rangordnungen der Engel — das bezeugen schon die verschiedenen Namen z.B. Hen. 69, 2ff., das bezeugt auch die Erwahnung von Klassen Apc. Bar. syr. 59, 11. Das Paulus diese Vorstellung geteilt hat, ist zweifellos." Ibid., p. 181; cf., further pp. 99, 111, 128 where no classification of these angel powers is argued. Dibelius' position was upheld in the article "Daemon," Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Supplementband III (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Buchhandlung, 1918), pp. 268-322.

²Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 96, 79, 186ff. ³Ibid., p. 38.

⁴The angel powers were to be thought of as symbolizing the transitory quality of "this world" since they were "die Repraesentanten dieser Weltzeit." Ibid., p. 111; cf., pp. 64ff., 88ff., 99ff.

⁵"Wir sahen, dass Christi eigentlich messianisches Werk die Vernichtung der Maechte dieses Aeons war..." Ibid., p. 108; cf., pp. 124ff.

⁶Ibid., p. 5.

By means of a well disciplined exegesis, this new emphasis sought for "meaning" in the theology of Paul himself.¹ Though the skills of the linguist and historian were important, for Dibelius, they were, in themselves, an inadequate approach for understanding the spirit world of Paul. This insistence upon discovering the author's theological meaning by sound exegetical principles, and not only picturing the cultural milieu, must be acclaimed as an unquestionable turning point in our history of scholarship.

Kurze, following Dibelius, agreed that any study of the demonic powers belonged at the center of Paul's theology;² but felt he was improving on Dibelius' work by returning to an internal exegetical strategy, determining "to let Paul speak more for himself."³ He saw no evidence for Dibelius' "Volkerengel" doctrine,⁴ claimed Paul was a systematic thinker⁵ and therefore, like Everling before him, Kurze expended much energy on grouping the angel powers into hierarchies.⁶ In his book, this practice

¹Dibelius' corrections of these earlier "religionsgeschichtliche" presumptions restored a confidence in the study of the Pauline texts in their own right: "Denn die Religion des Paulus ist keine Mythologie, sondern lebendiger, persoenlich erlebter Glaube." Kuemmel, op. cit., p. 336. Cf., supra, p. 1, n. 1.

²Georg Kurze, Der Engels -und Teufelsglaube des Apostels Paulus (Freiburg: Herdersche Verlagshandlung, 1915), p. 5.

³Ibid., from the "Vorwort."

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

⁵Ibid., p. 154.

⁶Ibid., p. 59.

often led to confusion and contradiction in addition to the expression of an improper dualism. Noack's judgement that Kurze's dissertation "hat...keinen wesentlich neuen Beitrag geliefert" must be regarded as a fair evaluation.¹

There was a periodic return to some of the same mistakes of nineteenth century scholarship. Titius wished to revive the comparison of the demonic with modern psychology;² while Mullensiefen³ rounded off the sharp edges of Paul's doctrine of evil. Other works confirmed some of the gains made during the last century. Schmitz,⁴ as Sokolowski had done earlier,⁵ verified a "dynamic" interpretation of spirit as being a "power," following the Old Testament prophets and Jewish apocalyptic sources.

¹Bent Noack, Satanás und Sotería, Untersuchung zur new-testamentlichen Daemonologie (Kopenhagen: C. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1948), p. 9.

²D. Titius, "Ueber Heilung von Daemonischen im Neuen Testament," Theologische Festschrift fuer G. Nathanael Bonwetsch (Leipzig: Werner Scholl Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918), pp. 36f.

³Wilhelm Mullensiefen, "Satan der θεός τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου II Kor. 4, 4," ThStK, XVC (1923).

⁴Otto Schmitz, "Der Begriff δύναμις bei Paulus," Festgabe fuer Adolf Deissmann zum 60 Geburtstag (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1926), p. 160.

⁵Emil Sokolowski, Die Begriffe Geist und Leben bei Paulus in ihrer Beziehung zu einander (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903). Cf., Hermann Gunkel, Die Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes nach der populaeren Anschauung der apostolischen Zeit und nach der Lehre des Apostels Paulus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1888). A second edition of Gunkel's book appeared in 1899. Pages cited in this study are from the second edition.

Bauernfeind held that the writer of Mark mixed a "christlichen Messiasdogmatik" with exorcism,¹ a statement indirectly reasserting Weser's contention that Paul's doctrine of the demon powers, since it does not accord with the above portrait, must be distinguished from the other New Testament positions.

At this same time, there appeared in two excursuses of Strack-Billerbeck under the titles "Der gute und der boese Trieb," and "Zur altjuedischen Daemonologie," a veritable gold mine of rabbinic materials which confirmed with a note of finality a long suspected thesis that many of the names for these demonic phenomena were interchangeable.²

It was not until Heinrich Schlier's article "Maechte und Gewalten im Neuen Testament"³ that scholarship again took up the

¹Otto Bauernfeind, Die Worte der Dämonen im Markusevangelium (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1927), p. 99. Cf., Anton Fridrichsen who says: "The Synoptic Gospels show Jesus to us not only as prophet, miracle worker, and teacher but also as exorcist." "The Conflict of Jesus with the unclean Spirits," Theology, XXII (1931), p. 122. Cf., further the same viewpoints as expressed in J. Tambornino, De antiquorum daemonismo, 1909; J. Smit, De Daemoniacis in historia evangelica, 1913; Th. Taczsak, Daemonische Besessenheit, 1903; and K. Oesterreich, Die Besessenheit, 1921 all quoted by Fridrichsen, op. cit., p. 123.

²Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash, IV (Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928), pp. 466-483 and 501-535. Hereafter these volumes will be referred to under the cipher "St-B."

³Heinrich Schlier, "Maechte und Gewalten im Neuen Testament," Theologischer Blaetter, IX (1930). Cf., the English translation Principalities and Powers in the New Testament, (Edinburgh: Nelson and Co., 1960) which is greatly revised and enlarged from the original article.

theological issues raised by Dibelius. Schlier ratified an exegetical approach and affirmed that, though it was useful to trace ideas and names, it was "of little avail" in determining the New Testament meanings. He claimed, as we found also in Strack-Billerbeck, that these terms for the demonic powers were largely reciprocal and that their subordination to Satan was the only noticeable distinction which appears to be made. Eric Fascher¹ supposed by now, with the publication of the second edition of the Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart,² the harsh realities of the recent war had caused some serious rethinking regarding the New Testament language of evil's demonic dimension.

Karl Ludwig Schmidt³ summarizes what we might acclaim as the net gains during this generation of scholarship. First, Paul differed from the Synoptics in that he did not attempt to cast into the language of the exorcist the doctrine of Christ's victory

¹Erich Fascher, Jesus und der Satan, Eine Studie zur Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1949), p. 7. Ernst Kaesemann refers to Fascher's book and also remarks that the attempt on the part of earlier scholarship to eliminate the reality of Satan and his powers is not legitimate. It is simply not true that "...moderner Fortschritt -und Humanitaetsgedanke' sich gegen diese Satanologie wehrt." "Aus der neutestamentlicher Arbeit der letzten Jahre," Verkuendigung und Forschung, Theologischer Jahresbericht, 1947/48 (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1949/1950), p. 203.

²Cf., the article "Teufel," RGK, IV (zweitende Auflage; 1931), col. 1067 where Satan's power is called the "Tendenz auf Selbst-verderbnis." It is significant that scholars from this time on cease asking "Is there a Devil?" and raise the question "How does evil manifest itself?"

³Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "Die Natur -und Geistkraefte im paulinischen Erkennen und Glauben," EJ, XIV (1946), p. 110.

over the demon powers.¹ Further, any fruitful conclusions to be won by dexterity of linguistic study were exceedingly limited because:

Was die schon rein statistisch im Vordergrund stehenden Bezeichnungen 'Maechte,' 'Gewalten,' 'Kraefte,' betrifft, so sind einerseits diese Woerter promiscue gebraucht, doch andererseits ist mit ihrer Nauncierung die besondere Veraestellung eines Gedanken komplexes gegeben. Die an sich deutliche Synonymik kann der wie immer vorsichtig zu handhaben Etymologie nicht enttragen.²

A "religionsgeschichtliche" type of exegesis in the Pauline texts themselves was not to be entirely controverted but was to become combined with a Biblical-theological approach. Modern scholars reasoned this combination to be the best means of access to the apostle's thoughts upon the spirit world.³ The "religionsgeschichtliche" methods of scholarship alone have obvious weaknesses for according to Schmidt they have a tendency to deal with "Hintergrund sich zwar 'interessant'" but do not further touch upon the Pauline "Bild des Lehrbegriffs."⁴ The "religionsgeschichtliche" disciplines made an undeniable contribution to our knowledge of these demon powers. However, we must remark that even though the New Testament writers may have drawn upon some of these sources to express the reality of the demonic, it seems clear that the incarnation event of Christ made it impossible for early Christian believers to think of these cosmic forces in the same way as before.⁵

Since Schmidt seems to have given to this era of research

¹Ibid., p. 130.

²Ibid., p. 106.

³Ibid., p. 106.

⁴Ibid., p. 115.

⁵Ibid., p. 116.

a fair and reliable appraisal, works like Langton's,¹ although abundant in excellent background information, nevertheless do not fall within the mainstream of Pauline scholarship.

C. The Period from Grundmann until the Present Day:

1932-to the Present Day

The rise of the Biblical-theological emphasis.---Walter Grundmann, in his book Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt,² concluded that the New Testament concept of "power" was an "Ausdruck der rettenden Kraft Gottes in Christus."³ In the Gospels, the early Christology "liegt in der Tatsache, dass Christus der Staerkere ist;"⁴ and therefore in Christ's incarnation and saving acts there was to be seen a clear-cut departure from the primitive idea of power as an impersonal world substance.⁵ The New Testament, to Grundmann's mind, contended for the "Konzentration der Kraft auf den Christus."⁶ Grundmann saw that the power ascribed to Christ by the New Testament writers was an

¹Edward Langton, Satan, a Portrait (London: Skeffington and Sons, 1945); idem, Good and Evil Spirits (London: SPCK, 1942); idem, The Ministry of the Angelic Powers (London: James Clarke and Co., 1937); idem, The Angel Teaching of the New Testament (London: James Clarke and Co., 1938). This same judgement must be made in respect to Trevor Ling, The Significance of Satan (London: SPCK, 1961).

²(Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1932).

³Ibid., p. 105.

⁴Ibid., p. 69.

⁵Ibid., p. 14.

⁶Ibid., p. 76. Cf., also Emmanuel Hirsch, "Das Wortlein das den Teufel faellen kann," Deutsche Theologie, III (1936), p. 194.

indication of Christ's Messianic role:

Schon die alttestamentliche Messiaserwartung weiss von der Kraft des Messias. In all diesen Stellen ist die Kraft und die Staerke, die der Messias hat und entfaltet, die Kraft, die dem Koenig eignet...Der Koenig fuehrt sein Schlachtglueck auf die Kraft Jahwes zurueck, die ihm gegeben ist.

In his discussion of Christology, Grundmann uses Christ as the supreme example of the "divine law"² of the paradoxical "power of weakness."

Grundmann refused to acknowledge any difference between the Synoptics and Paul: "...der Ueberwindung des Satan ist in gleicher Weise synoptischer wie paulinischer."³ We have already noticed that exceptions to this statement are not wanting in the history of scholarship.

However, when Grundmann described his aim as being "keine philologische Studie; sondern eine theologische Besinnung"⁴ a new element in the history of scholarship had made its full appearance in that now there was an outright willingness to consider the nature of victory over the demonic powers in relation to a Christological context.

Odeberg offers a most significant insight in his statement in making reference to the cosmic language of Ephesians: "The aim of this kind of literature is impressionistic rather than

¹Grundmann, op. cit., p. 56.

²Ibid., pp. 104, 105, 101.

³Ibid., p. 73.

⁴Ibid., p. 3.

systematic or dogmatic."¹ Because this type of literature is "impressionistic" and descriptive of man's situation in the cosmos, we will understand the New Testament author's point of view only if we take into consideration the context and realm of ideas in which these utterances are expressed. In the case of Paul this means a discussion of the demonic powers along with christology and atonement-theology.

Bent Noack outlined his objective as an endeavor to determine the source and development of the notion of Satan, to establish the relationship between Satan and his demonic hosts, and place these findings within the context of the New Testament constructions themselves.²

After giving an unnecessary rehearsal of familiar Jewish background traditions in the first section of the monograph, Noack proposed in the later, most important section of his work, that if these demonic forces were to be accurately understood, it was necessary that their value be weighed in relationship to the entire New Testament "Heilsplan Gottes."

Noack understood quite well that the New Testament took over

¹Hugo Odeberg, The View of the Universe in the Epistle to the Ephesians, Lunds Universitets Arsskrift, XXIX (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1934), pp. 19f. In more recent times a similar statement is made by Gunter Jacob: "In diesem gnostischen Vokabular und in diesen mythologischen Bildern spricht sich nicht eine spekulative Tendenz zur theoretischen Welterklaerung aus, sondern es melden sich Aussagen ueber die Situation des Menschen im Kosmos an..." Gunter Jacob, "Der Christ und die Maechte," Vom Herrengeheimnis der Wahrheit, Festschrift fuer Heinrich Vogel, herausgegeben von Kurt Scharf (Berlin: Lettner Verlag, 1962), p. 334.

²Noack, op. cit., p. 10. Cf., supra, p. 21, n. 1.

much of its demonology from late Judaism. However, he states that:

Die Eigenart der neutestamentlichen Daemonologie besteht nicht in der Bildung eines solchen Systems, denn die hat in der neutestamentlichen Zeit schon ihren Abschluss gefunden, sondern...in der Rolle, die sie fuer das Verstaendnis der Wirksamkeit Jesu und innerhalb der Christusverkuendigung der Urgemeinde spielt.¹

Where the Devil and his company were mentioned, there, states Noack, one stands "in engster Beziehung zur Soteriologie."²

It was precisely this concern to place the study of Satan at the very nucleus of New Testament atonement themes which most clearly characterizes the Biblical-theological period of research.

Noack also subscribed to the belief that within the individual New Testament books the portrait of Satanic power was differently expressed. In the book of Revelation, for instance, the Devil was more an eschatological figure;³ while the Johannine literature saw "nur absolute Gegensatze"⁴; and in Paul the numerous evil powers received more attention.⁵

Satan fulfilled the three main functions of "Versucher, Verfuehrer" and "Widersacher Gottes,"⁶ was to be identified at times with the "evil impulse,"⁷ and had a connection with the demons which was so close that one could say: "Das Reich Satans ist ein Organismus."⁸ Even though there can be seen no systematic distinctions between Satan and his powers, especially in Paul, the Devil assumes the role of a single counter-personage.⁹ This led

¹Ibid., p. 49.

²Ibid., p. 64.

³Ibid., p. 116.

⁴Ibid., p. 103.

⁵Ibid., p. 131.

⁶Ibid., p. 20.

⁷Ibid., p. 106.

⁸Ibid., p. 73.

⁹Ibid., p. 54.

Noack, despite Dibelius' warnings,¹ to advocate a dualism in Paul: "...nicht theoretischer und grundsätzlicher, sondern praktischer Art."²

Schmidt issued a warning similar to that delivered previously by Stauffer³ in that, whereas it was both necessary and proper to stress the reality of these cosmic powers, one must not, at the same time, exclude man's individual responsibility for choice. In other words: "Lucifer hat verspielt, weil er einmal verspielen wird."⁴

We will later find occasion to refer again to the Qumran material in considerable detail. In an article by Karl Georg Kuhn⁵ it was suggested that in the New Testament the real dualism existed not between God and Satan but between God and sin. In this dualistic language of eschatological conflict, sin is a characteristic and effect of the workings of the demonic. The choice man makes between the rule of God or the rule of sin determines his existence.⁶ This more dynamic description of sin corresponds to

¹Cf., supra, p. 18.

²Noack, op. cit., p. 124.

³Ethelbert Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. from the 1941 ed. by John Marsh (London: SCM Press, 1955), p. 70.

⁴Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "Lucifer als gefallene Engelmacht," ThZ, VII (1951), p. 179.

⁵Karl Georg Kuhn, "ἡσυχασμός - ἀμαρτία - σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," ZThK, XLIX (1952), pp. 203, 212f., 216f. Somewhat revised and translated into English, this article appears in The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 97, 103f. 108.

⁶Ibid., p. 212. [ET] p. 104. Cf., Paul Tillich, Das Dämonische, Ein Beitrag zur Sinnbedeutung der Geschichte, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1926), pp. 18ff.

Lyonnet's statement that sin was not "actus sed status rebellionis hominum."¹

We have already illustrated that the disposition to place the discussion of the demonic at the very heart of New Testament theology was a change in mood opening up unlimited possibilities along Biblical-theological lines. The article by James Stewart² seems to be the first contribution in English New Testament scholarship to discuss the demonic powers with this approach in mind. He argued strongly for the case that here we are dealing "with the very substance of the faith"³ and that therefore the New Testament theologian has the urgent obligation to consider the significance of these demonic powers in alliance with both Christology⁴ and atonement-theology.⁵

Following this lead, W. Manson, in order to fill in "the spiritual background of the work of Jesus,"⁶ and G. H. C. Macgregor, because of "the sheer importance of this subject,"⁷

¹S. Lyonnet, "De natura peccati quid doceat NT," Verbum Domini, XXXV (1957), p. 206.

²"On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology," SJT, IV (1951).

³Ibid., p. 300.

⁴Ibid., p. 297.

⁵Ibid., p. 293.

⁶"Principalities and Powers," Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas, III (Cambridge: The University Press, 1952), pp. 7-17.

⁷G. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: the Cosmic Background of St. Paul's Thought," NTS, I (1955), p. 17.

added their voices to a growing discussion.

In order to avoid dualism Edgar Michaelis proposed that even temptation had salvation as its design¹ and that therefore the tempter becomes but another quality of God.² We have before us a "Quaternitaet, Pater, Spiritus, Filius, Diabolus."³ P. Urban Holzmeister believed that Christ's being "with the wild beasts" as is recorded in the Markan temptation account is an indication of Christ's reestablishing the lordship over animals on behalf of man. Thus God's claim on creation is here symbolized.⁴ H. Wildberger is worthy of only a passing mention for he somewhat belatedly remarks that in the Bible, the preponderance of cosmic language well merits our ^aearnest attention.⁵ For some the subject of the demonic offers an excuse to discuss other issues such as

¹Edgar Michaelis, "Satan -- die vierte Person der Gottheit: zu C. G. Jung's Deutung des Buches Hiob," Zeitwende, XXV (1954), p. 377. Cf., Paul Volz, Das Daemonische in Jahwe, (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1929), pp. 5, 9.

²We must accept "nicht nur den guten Gott...sondern auch den dunkeln." Michaelis, op. cit., p. 369. Following Jung, he calls "Der Glaube an Gott als das Summum Bonum...einem reflektierenden Bewusstsein unmöglich." Ibid., p. 370.

³Ibid., p. 369.

⁴P. Urban Holzmeister, "Jesus lebte mit den wilden Tieren," Vom Wort des Lebens, Festschrift fuer Max Meinertz. (Muenster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1951), p. 87.

⁵"Das Verhaeltnis des Menschen zu den kosmischen Maechten im alten Orient und in Israel," Mensch und Kosmos, Festschrift fuer Fritz Blanke (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1960), p. 30.

human responsibility in political¹ or social ethics.²

Some of the above works are only mentioned to illustrate that there is no place for a generalized theological discussion of evil power which largely ignores the Biblical texts themselves. Such an exercise leads into remote areas of thought which are at best only incidental to what Scripture is getting at with its language of the demonic.

It is unnecessary to pursue a treatment of the many works of a more theological nature which indirectly contributed to the history of scholarship.³ We might, however, single out the study by Leivestad since, with Kuhn, he claimed that for Paul not only sin but the semi-personal concepts of "death, the flesh and in some respects the law"⁴ all possessed a demonic quality.

¹Hermann Saur, "Zwischen Gewissen und Daemon," Junge Kirche, XVI (1955), pp. 421f. Cf., Alfred D. Mueller, Daemonische Wirklichkeit und Trinitaet (Guetersloh: Gerd Mohn Verlag, 1963), p. 149.

²Max Schoch, "Das Boese," Schweizerische Theologische Umschau, XXXI (1961), pp. 213f.

³Cf., in this regard Karl Heim, Jesus the World's Perfecter, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1959); Helmut Thielicke, "Ueber die Wirklichkeit des Daemonischen, Das Geheimnis der ueberpersoenlichen Maechte," Fragen des Christentums an die moderne Welt (Genf: Verlag Oikumene, 1945); idem, Between God and Satan (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1958); Gustav Aulén, Christus Victor, trans. A. G. Hebert from the 1930 edition (London: SPCK, 1961); J.S. Whale, Victor and Victim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960); Allan Galloway, The Cosmic Christ (London: Nisbet and Co., 1951); Adolf Koeberle, Der Herr ueber Alles (Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1957).

⁴Ragnar Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror, Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament (London: SPCK Press, 1954), p. 92.

However, Foerster, in a recent article in the Theologisches Woerterbuch, maintained a contrary view that in the case of death, at least, there was no connection between Beliar and the late Jewish doctrine of the death angel;¹ nor did Paul associate death with any power of Satan.²

In Foerster's article it is remarkable that though more than twenty six bibliographical sources are cited to deal with this subject,³ in English, only that of G. B. Caird⁴ is completely devoted to discussing the theology of Paul. His, in fact, is the only monograph dealing exclusively with Paul in this whole area of study since the more "religionsgeschichtliche" methods of Dibelius and Kurze nearly fifty years previous.

Caird modestly outlined his task as "descriptive — an attempt to reconstruct something of the world of thought in which Paul's mind was at home."⁵ In agreement with some of his contemporaries, Caird also felt that "Paul came to regard the law as a demonic agency."⁶ It was in his most important final chapter that Caird discussed the nature of Christ's triumph over the demonic

¹Werner Foerster, art. οὐρανός TWNT, VII, p. 153.

²Ibid., p. 158.

³Ibid., p. 151. Cf., further the art. δαίμων, where, in the main, only references to commentaries are cited as source material. TWNT, II, pp. 1-21.

⁴G. B. Caird, Principalities and Powers, A Study in Pauline Theology (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956).

⁵Ibid., p. xi.

⁶Ibid., pp. xi, 37, 41, et passim.

powers. Suprisingly, this precise question of how Christ achieved atonement victory had been almost completely neglected until Caird brought it to scholarship's attention in these few pages.¹

This picture of the modern period of New Testament study represents a marked departure from the disciplines which we discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter. These differences of method produced in turn a variety of results. It is therefore most essential that we submit in summary form the lessons to be learned from over a century of scholarly discussion and debate. Through these encounters have emerged the guidelines for any proposed direction of research.²

¹Ibid., pp. 84f., 88f., 97f.

²I have purposely avoided treating Cullmann's "dualistic interpretation" of Romans xiii. 1-7, a position which is summarized in C. D. Morrison's The Powers that Be, Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 29 (London: SCM Press, 1960) and in Fritzhermann Kernburg, Die Geschichte der Auslegung von Roemer 13, 1-7 (Duesseldorf: Buchhandlung Dietrich Nachf, 1952), especially pp. 125ff., 140ff. Kaesemann has convincingly shown that: (1) In Romans xiii there is no metaphysic of the state; (2) With the support of studies by Kittel, Eck, Ford, Stroebels, K. L. Schmidt and others, Kaesemann argues that the "Volkerengel" doctrine, originally put forward by Dibelius and basic to the "dualistic interpretation," is not to be found in Paul; (3) It is a mistake to bind together the natural and supernatural world as Cullmann does: "Hier wird vermischet was geschieden bleiben muss, wenn man nicht zur heilsgeschichtlichen Funktion des Staates gelangen will." Ernst Kaesemann, "Roemer 13, 1-7 in unser Generation," ZThK, LVI (1959), p. 350. (4) ἐξουσία depicts an angel power only in Christological contexts, which in Romans xiii is not the case; (5) Paul is rather correcting the "schon jetzt" of early Christian enthusiasm with a "noch nicht"; (6) Though Kaesemann admits that: "Cullmann's Deutung hat jedoch Relevanz fuer Dogmatik und Glauben," he also points out that, with the exception of Bo Reicke, R. Morgenthaler and W. Bieder, Cullmann's "dualistic interpretation" has been completely rejected by modern New Testament scholarship.

Summary and conclusion.---This history of scholarship chapter has brought to the surface a rather consistent set of problems which our study shows to be in need of discussion. Our inquiry has also clarified a notable index of weaknesses and strengths in methodology from which we may learn.

We noticed that in German New Testament scholarship a quite lively debate has continued since Dibelius' work in 1909. However, English New Testament scholarship is represented only by the small and more popularly styled monograph of G. B. Caird. No one in English New Testament scholarship has given full consideration to this question of the demonic powers as it relates to the whole of Pauline atonement-theology. Also, the problem of how Christ has won victory over the forces of evil is virtually ignored.

One assured result emerging from the material surveyed in this chapter is that we have sufficient testimony that an investigation of the demonic powers puts us at the heart of the apostle's atonement-theology. Paul presents the enemy powers in a different light than that which we find evidenced in the Synoptic Gospels. Paul has no interest in presenting Christ as an exorcist whose very presence and power is sufficient to dispel the demon forces. In Christ's submission to the cross and in the resurrection and exaltation are to be seen the defeat of the cosmic powers for Paul. In the apostle's theology, we notice also a shift of emphasis. It is not only the demonic powers which are to be feared but the demonic grip upon mankind exercised by sin and death and in some respects by the law and flesh. We will need to

consider the question of demonic powers within the dramatic, cosmic panorama of God's mighty acts of salvation. In fact, it is to be doubted whether one can understand the Pauline mythical imagery at all without considering these powers in the light of the apostle's entire atonement-theology. We have emphasized the futility of studying these demonic entities in isolation, purely for information about the subject matter concerned. What is their relationship to God's salvation in Christ was the question with which Paul wrestled. It must be our question as well.

We must conclude, therefore, that for Paul the single significant fact about the demonic powers is that in Christ's death, resurrection and exaltation they have been somehow defeated. Such an affirmation compels us to ask the question: "How, then are we to understand the Pauline concept of Christus Victor?"

PART I

THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY

CHAPTER II

THE DEMONIC NATURE OF "FLESH":

A HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

The problem.---The earlier attempts to define the Pauline meaning of σάρξ resulted in complete confusion and only sufficed to accentuate the difficulties involved in dealing with this Pauline usage.¹ If we may take Tholuck as a guide to theological reflection of the mid-nineteenth century, it soon becomes apparent that, when these theologians dealt with the concept of flesh and its connection with sin, the demonic quality of σάρξ was quietly ignored. The Pauline passages which seemed to demand some such interpretation were absorbed into an overriding Augustinian dogma which was popular at that time. Thus σάρξ was defined as man's "sensuality"² and "creatureliness,"³ his "weakness"⁴ and "self-seeking."⁵

¹For example, F. C. Baur shows how Tholuck, in the Commentar [sic] zum Brief an die Roemer changed his position on the meaning of σάρξ many times only to return to his original interpretation in the fifth edition, 1856. F. C. Baur, op. cit., p. 142. Cf., supra, p. 3, n. 2.

²D. A. Tholuck, "Erneute Untersuchung ueber σάρξ als Quelle der Suende," ThStK, XXVII (1855), p. 481. Cf., also the same definition of σάρξ in Adolf Philippi, Commentar [sic] ueber den Brief Pauli an die Roemer (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1896), p. 305.

³Tholuck, ThStK, XXVII (1855), p. 489. ⁴Ibid., p. 490.

⁵Ibid., p. 483. Cf., also Carl W. Otto, Commentar [sic] zum Roemerbrief, Teil I (Glauchau: Arno Peschke Verlag, 1886), p. 432.

Tholuck spoke for many other scholars of this era in his designation of $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ as "...die sündliche Menschennatur."¹

We will recognize, first of all, in the efforts of the subsequent generation of scholarship, the varying degrees of success in the struggle to free the Pauline concept of $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ from its bondage to Augustinian maxims.

Secondly, we must assess the value of the many suggestions for a suitable source for this peculiar meaning of $\sigma\phi\epsilon$.

As these early scholars encountered the complexities posed by the Pauline usage of $\sigma\phi\epsilon$, possible answers were presented and theological camps were formed. This chapter will attempt to understand and trace the development of scholarship's understanding of the Pauline $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ usage. Only through a succinct restaging of the debate can one avoid repeating the same errors of some of the various proposals previously put forward. It should be remembered that the crucial question of this chapter has to do with whether or not Paul gives to $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ the attributes of a demonic power.

Examples of the liberal position.---Holsten did not fully escape the earlier Augustinian emphasis² when he saw in

¹D. A. Tholuck, Commentar [sic] zum Brief an die Roemer (Halle: Eduard Anton Verlag, 1856), p. 394. Cf., also a similar viewpoint expressed by D. G. Stockhardt: " $\sigma\phi\epsilon$...bezeichnet die verderbte Natur des Menschen." Commentar [sic] ueber den Brief Pauli an die Roemer (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907), p. 339.

²"Der Mensch an sich also, als seinem substantiellen Wesen nach $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ ist boese..." Carl Holsten, Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus (Rostock: Shiller'sche Hofbuchhandlung, 1868), p. 403. [This article, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ im Lehrbegriffe des Paulus," is reprinted from 1855 and included here in Holsten's book.]

the Pauline σάρξ usage a description of man's weakness and earthly nature.¹ He defined σάρξ in a typically Greek fashion as "...die irdisch-materielle lebendige Substanz des tierischen Organismus",² and so in his description mankind in general concided with the σάρξ concept.³ God as πνεῦμα and man as σάρξ were presented by Holsten as standing in an absolute opposition to each other.⁴ Though he acknowledged that this definition of σάρξ gives much room to Greek dualism, Holsten would not admit that this description was in any way similar to the Gnostic metaphysic.⁵ In wishing to show how σάρξ acquires the peculiar Pauline usage approaching the meaning of a demonic entity, Holsten can only explain that it is the ἐπιθυμία or sensual "desires" of man's corrupt flesh which make him incapable of pleasing God. It even appears at times as though σάρξ were acting as an independent force.⁶ For Holsten, this sensual "desire" constitutes the key to understanding the close connection Paul makes between σάρξ and ἁμαρτία.⁷ Man's sinful flesh renders him powerless to fulfill God's holy law.⁸ Man's νοῦς or reason is in a constant state of rebellion against the weakness of the σάρξ. The idea put forth by Holsten that Paul shaped this peculiar doctrine of σάρξ from his own inability to keep the law was to become an influential interpretation which dominated the field of exegesis until well into the next century.

¹Ibid., p. 373.

²Ibid., p. 375.

³Ibid., pp. 393f.

⁴Ibid., pp. 394, 398.

⁵Ibid., p. 397.

⁶Ibid., p. 395.

⁷Ibid., p. 403.

⁸Ibid., p. 421.

Luedemann was the first to give serious consideration to explaining what he thought to be the contrasting Jewish and Greek elements of the Pauline $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ idea. He rejected the Greek concept of a materia bruta found in Holsten;¹ and favored the Old Testament definition of man as being in a condition of "weakness"² before a Holy God. The dualism in Paul was not defined as metaphysical in nature, as if between two substances of spirit and flesh, but as a religious dualism, between "Endlichen und Unendlichen."³ Luedemann feels that Paul communicates this dualistic thinking in keeping with the Jewish world view of the two spheres, heavenly and earthly,⁴ the transcendence of God and the lowliness of man.⁵ However, he does concede that there are points where the Hellenistic sense of $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ becomes dominant.⁶ Luedemann states that man "tends" toward sin in that his sinful flesh is weak.⁷ The impotence of man's flesh is Luedemann's solution to the problem of the intimate connection between $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ in Paul. He finds it impossible to understand $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ as "sensuality" with Mueller and Ernesti, terming this sort of interpretation "moderne Dogmatik" and "nicht apostolische Lehre."⁸ Therefore for Luedemann $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ represents human nature in general,⁹ with the special Jewish emphasis upon man's weakness to account for those passages where $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ takes on its demonic nuance.

¹Luedemann, op. cit., p. 4. Cf., supra, p. 2, n. 2.

²Ibid., p. 7.

³Ibid., p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 33.

⁵Ibid., p. 110

⁶Ibid., p. 38.

⁷Ibid., p. 70.

⁸Ibid., p. 63.

⁹Ibid., p. 70.

We must say that when Luedemann defines $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ as man's weakness, he offers little help for those Pauline passages where $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ seems to be presented as more than this, almost as if it were an independent evil power. However, Luedemann's work is important in that he distinguished two elements in the Pauline $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ category (which he regarded as Greek and Jewish) thereby forcing other scholars to deal with both of these aspects.

Holtzmann built upon Luedemann's contention that there were both Hellenistic and Jewish elements in Paul's thought. He maintained there was an absolute "Gegensatz" between $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ and $\piνε\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ derived from the Old Testament stress on God's separation from the world.¹ Like Holsten, Holtzmann assumed that, although the law was given for the purpose of life, it could not be fulfilled.² According to Holtzmann's thinking, man cannot keep the law since his weak $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ is as a "...geist -und gottwidrige Potenz,"³ always at war with his will to observe the law. Holtzmann leans heavily toward the side of Hellenism in his bid to explain those sections of Paul where $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\varsigma}$ emerges as an independent force.

Pfleiderer also adopted Holsten's position of a Hellenistic influence on Paul and alleged that "...beide, der Leibe des Menschen und das Fleisch, stofflich identisch sind."⁴ He felt that Romans vii

¹ Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie, II (2 Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1911), pp. 21f.

² Ibid., p. 29.

³ Ibid., p. 42.

⁴ Otto Pfleiderer, Der Paulinismus (2 Auflage; Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1890), p. 61. [ET] Paulinism, p. 60.

shows that Paul was unable to obey the Jewish law due to the infirmity of man's sinful flesh. Pfleiderer looked to the rabbinic doctrine of the "evil impulse" to explain those passages where $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ takes on qualities of a demonic power.¹ With reference to this יצר הרע he says: "In dieser Lehre der juedische Theologie liegt die Quelle der ueber die alttestamentliche Linie hinausgehenden paulinischen Theorie vom Fleisch in seinem Verhaelt-nis zur Suende."² Pfleiderer equated the struggle of the $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ against the $\pi\alpha\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ with that of the יצר הרע against the יצר הטוב pictured in rabbinic Judaism. Although this interpretation was eventually rejected by Pfleiderer's own generation, it points out the need for giving some answer to the problem of $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ as a phenomenon possessing sovereignty of its own.

Reactions to the liberal position.---Juencker agreed with Holsten, Luedemann, Weizsaecker, Holtzmann, Schmiedel and others that $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ is the material and natural ground of human nature and that man was incapable of keeping the law.³ He rejected the idea set forth by Weber, Clemen and Pfleiderer which maintained that the יצר הרע accounted for the Satanic sense of the flesh.⁴ Juencker's argument was that God created within man both the יצר הרע and the יצר הטוב so that man would be

¹Ibid., p. 65.

²Ibid., p. 66.

³Alfred Juencker, Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1904), p. 59.

⁴Ibid., pp. 77, 80.

capable of deciding between them on the basis of God's law.¹ But, to the contrary, Paul, in Romans vii is not rabbinic in his thinking, stressing man's ability to choose between good and evil. His arguments are more deterministic and apocalyptic in nature. Because in Romans vii there is no evidence for this balance of the two impulses, Juencker argues there could be no merit in the theory that the Jewish "evil impulse" idea could shed light on the uniqueness of the Pauline *oúρξ* usage.²

Another reaction, featured in such conservative scholars as Wendt, was in opposition to the liberal position because it accentuated Greek backgrounds and acclaimed their influence on Pauline theology. Wendt seems to be driven to find in the Pauline *oúρξ* concept that which in no way contradicts the Old Testament usage of *כַּל־בְּשָׂר*.³ His apologetic orientation asserts itself in

¹Cf., Kidduschin 30b; Baba Bathra 16a where God is responsible for having created the "evil impulse." Aboth 4. 1 and Sukkah 52a give to man the responsibility of choosing between the two impulses. It is doubtful whether the "evil impulse" doctrine can ever be of much assistance in explaining the Pauline *oúρξ* notion since there is within rabbinic literature much inconsistency as to its meaning. R. Simeon b. Lakish makes no distinction between the *יָצָר הָרָע*, Satan and the angel of death. Cf., Samuel S. Cohen, "Original Sin," Hebrew Union College Annual, XXI (1948), pp. 304f. To complicate the picture even more, and in contrast to Paul's demonic idea of *oúρξ*, in other cases the "evil impulse" is declared to be good: "...at almost every stage it can be seen that these inclinations are not wholly evil, but are in some sense necessary to human life and progress." F. C. Porter, The Yecer Hara, a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin (New Haven: Yale Biblical and Semitic Studies, 1901), p. 133. Cf., also the discussion with reference to W. D. Davies, infra, pp. 77ff.

²Juencker, op. cit., p. 81.

³H. H. Wendt, Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist (Gotha: Friedr. Andr. Perthes, 1878), pp. 76, 78.

an extreme statement: "Die Bildung des Paulus war aber in erster Linie eine juedische, und alle seine uebrigen Gedankenkreise [*italics mine*] wurzeln fast ausschliesslich in alttestamentlichen Anschauungen und Begriffen."¹ He agreed with the former notion that Paul's conversion experience played a formidable part in forging the σάρξ - πνεῦμα opposition into a sharp conflict.² But he objected to Holsten's study for making of σάρξ - πνεῦμα a "physische Gegensatz" and claimed it should be understood instead as an "ethischen Gegensatz."³ Wendt did endeavor to account for the evil side of σάρξ but described it in quite general terms as man in a separated condition from a transcendent God.

Operating under the principle that "sacred Scripture is its own best interpreter," Dickson pushed this apologetic concern to rare extremes and tried to compress all the peculiar Pauline σάρξ - πνεῦμα meanings under the בשר and רוח constructions of the Old Testament.⁴ According to Dickson, σάρξ does acquire evil characteristics in the Pauline usage but this is ascribed to man's being creaturely,⁵ in distinction from God⁶ or without divine πνεῦμα.⁷ Although Dickson locates many vulnerable gaps in the logic of the liberal position, he is sadly lacking in any positive suggestions of his own which would deal with these difficult sections of the apostle's doctrine.

¹Ibid., p. 90.

²Ibid., p. 79.

³Ibid., pp. 81, 87.

⁴William P. Dickson, St. Paul's use of the terms Flesh and Spirit (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1883), p. 342.

⁵Ibid., p. 305.

⁶Ibid., p. 319.

⁷Ibid., p. 270.

In similar fashion Gloël referred to $\sigma\phi\rho\acute{\xi}$ as having a "widergoettliche Richtung"¹ and wished to understand it in terms of the Old Testament כְּלִי-בַשָּׂר formula as the "weakness" and "creatureliness" of mankind.² Gloël inclines toward a pietistic notion of $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ and its struggle against the evil $\sigma\phi\rho\acute{\xi}$: "Wo immer der Geist im Herzen wohnt, da ist er nach Paulus Ueberzeugung auch lebendig wirksam. Er ist kein toter Besitz, sondern erneuerend und befreiend greift er in das persoенliche Leben ein."³

The position of Bernhard Weiss was also in line with the general Old Testament sense of כְּלִי-בַשָּׂר when he says that $\sigma\phi\rho\acute{\xi}$ denotes "...man according to his natural being, in so far as it is originally specifically distinguished from God, and made hostile to Him by the sin which dwells in it."⁴

Sokolowski followed this Old Testament interpretation for flesh when he defined it as "Schwache und Vergaengliche"⁵ and contrasted its inferiority to God.⁶

Feine may be added to this list of scholars who contradicted

¹ Johannes Gloël, Der Heilige Geist in der Heilsverkuendigung des Paulus (Halle: Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1888), p. 14.

² Ibid., pp. 21f., 40.

³ Ibid., p. 181.

⁴ Bernhard Weiss, Biblical Theology of the New Testament, I, trans. from the 3rd. rev. ed. by David Eaton (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1882), p. 339.

⁵ Sokolowski, op. cit., p. 116. Cf., supra, p. 21, n. 5.

⁶ Ibid., p. 118.

appeals to Hellenism for apprehending the Pauline $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ concept.¹

We must at this point offer a word of caution. Although Paul employs $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ many times with this Old Testament כִּלְבִּישׁ form and meaning, this still does not account for the other occurrences in Paul where $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ seems to strike a note of the autonomous and the demonic. If one does not look to Hellenistic presuppositions to account for these constructions, some other explanation must be forthcoming giving reason for their presence in the Pauline corpus. It is just not enough to defend Paul against the intrusion of Hellenistic ideas and then give no alternative explanation for his unusual meaning of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$. Through all this discussion, in both the liberal position and the conservative reaction there is yet no satisfactory solution to the curious Pauline nuance of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$.

The "religionsgeschichtliche" contribution.---The significant discoveries which proved most influential in reshaping the earlier interpretation of the Pauline $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ idea came from the "religionsgeschichtliche" methods of research. As we have already noted, Everling and Dibelius advanced forceful arguments for the recognition of a cosmic-apocalyptic orientation in Pauline theology. But it was Gunkel who suggested how the demonic power which grasps man in sickness or possession is very much like what is also said of the manner by which the spirit-power of God takes hold of man.²

¹Paul Feine, Der Apostel Paulus (Guetersloh: Verlag von Bertelsmann, 1927), p. 79.

²Gunkel, op. cit., pp. 36ff. Cf., supra, p. 21, n. 5.

"Der Geist selbst ist die uebernaturliche Kraft, welche von Gott durch Christum den Glaebigen gesandt ist, und in denselben Wunder wirkt."¹ The spirit-power was the sign of the new aeon: "Mit dem Erscheinen Jesu in der Welt ist der grosse Wendepunkt der Geschichte eingetreten. Die Zeit ist erfuehlt. Der erste Aeon liegt im Sterben, das Ende der Welt naht."² The power of the spirit is linked up with the reign of God and His kingdom of power: "Das Erscheinen des Reiches Gottes also ist ein Tat der uebernaturlichen Macht Gottes. — Umgekehrt aber auch, wo sich die ueberweltliche Macht Gottes offenbart, wo der Geist Gottes auftritt, um die Macht des Teufels zu brechen, da ist das Gottesreich."³ God witnesses of the coming world through His spirit which is the δύναμις μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.⁴ From this standpoint, Gunkel criticizes Gloël for not recognizing the dimension of a cosmic power in dealing with the New Testament spirit doctrine.⁵

It is unfortunate that Gunkel did not discuss σῶμα as a power in connection with his thesis regarding the spirit. However, with this significant break-through, it was only a matter of time until later scholars saw reason to adjust the σῶμα idea to fit Gunkel's definition of the spirit as a power. Now, with this alternative interpretation of spirit so vigorously advanced by

¹Ibid., p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 53.

³Ibid., p. 54.

⁴Ibid., p. 55.

⁵Ibid., p. 84. A tribute to the lasting value of Gunkel's interpretation is paid by Kaesemann where acknowledgment is made of scholarship's indebtedness to this study. Cf., the article "Geist und Geistgaben," RGG, II (dritte Auflage), cols. 1272-1279.

Gunkel, the liberal position of man's νοῦς responsibly choosing between σάρξ and πνεῦμα and the conservative description of πνεῦμα as the divine counterpart for man's weak nature, appear much less attractive.

Weinel took up Gunkel's thesis that spirit had a cosmic scope as the wonder-working power of God and added to this his insistence that the late Jewish demonic world view played a major role in the formation of the Pauline ideas.¹ Reitzenstein spoke also of the cosmic qualities of πνεῦμα;² and Bousset reaffirmed the importance of the dualistic world view of Jewish apocalyptic for a correct interpretation of Paul.³ Elsewhere in Bousset, ^{there} ~~we~~ ~~is an admission~~ ~~have a hint toward admitting~~ that what in Gunkel's study is said of πνεῦμα as being a cosmic power should also be said in reference to σάρξ: "Daher sind Geist und Fleisch die beiden grossen, miteinander streitenden feindlichen Gewalten."⁴

Johannes Weiss phrased Bousset's contention for this cosmic attribute of σάρξ more sharply. For Weiss σάρξ was

¹Heinrich Weinell, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1899), pp. 29, 70. He described the Devil and the Spirit of God as being in a struggle within man just as earlier the liberal theologians had believed the conflict consisted of man's νοῦς choosing between the ways of πνεῦμα and σάρξ. Ibid., p. 160.

²R. Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (dritte Auflage; Leipzig: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1927), p. 363.

³Wilhelm Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im spaet-hellenistischen Zeitalter (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1926), pp. 253, 257.

⁴Idem, Kyrios Christos (zweite Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1921), p. 121.

no general concept but in Paul it was to be seen within the context of a "...fast mythologische Denkweise: das Fleisch ist ein Teil von Gott abgefallenen, ihm feindlich gegenueberstehenden Kosmos; durch das Fleisch haengt der Einzelne eben mit diesem Kosmos zusammen; das Abtun des Fleischesleibes bedeutet zugleich die Erloesung von der Weltelementen."¹

With such a great deal of source evidence at the ready command of these "religionsgeschichtliche" scholars who argued for the apocalyptic-cosmic understanding of σάρξ - πνεῦμα, the earlier moralistic explanation for the evil side of σάρξ proved imperfect and unacceptable.

Some further suggestions.---Burton shows in the earlier sections of his monograph how both the Greek and Old Testament usage of σάρξ favor the simple physical meaning and therefore σάρξ [7W1] often occurs in close parallel to σῶμα.² When Burton comes to discuss New Testament times, he admits that σάρξ takes on an unusual sense which cannot be explained as a mere repetition of either the Greek or the Old Testament usage. He therefore concludes that the New Testament writers, and especially Paul, gave to σάρξ their own particular and original force of interpretation. This is of course the easy way out of the difficulties. When he does consider sources for Paul's usage, Burton calls these

¹Johannes Weiss, Das Urchristentum (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917), p. 474. Thus σάρξ can be spoken of as being "possessed" by sin just as one is possessed by demonic powers: "Die Suende haust im Fleisch und schaltet die freie Selbstbestimmung des Ich aus." Ibid., p. 474.

²Ernest DeWitt Burton, Spirit, Soul and Flesh (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918), pp. 51, 69, 71, 73.

peculiar connotations of σάρξ a logical and further step from the Old Testament idea of flesh as "...natural generation and kinship."¹ He describes the unique implication of σάρξ in Romans vii with a hint of Augustinian presuppositions as "the hereditary impulse to sin,"² "those impulses to evil which also seem to be born in us,"³ or, more simply, "the totality of life apart from the spirit."⁴

In Burton's entire monograph, there is no place made for the apocalyptic literature. Therefore, when searching for a source of the Pauline σάρξ usage, he can say that even though in Romans vii the implication goes far beyond the Old Testament essence of the word: "New Testament usage is much nearer to that of Jewish-Greek writers, and indeed to that of the Old Testament, than to that of Greek writers in general, or to that of any other literature of which we have knowledge."⁵ From what we have learned previously in our history of scholarship study, Burton could have done well to examine the apocalyptic literature before venturing the above generalization. Beyond this, we might also question what this "impulse to evil" might mean and whether it adequately explains the demonic qualities ascribed to σάρξ in some of the key Pauline passages of scripture.

Schweitzer does not give a detailed account of the Pauline σάρξ usage, but throughout his familiar work on the mysticism of Paul, he provides suggestions which point to his distinctive interpretation. Immortality, in Schweitzer's view of Paul's theology,

¹Ibid., p. 185.

²Ibid., p. 207.

³Ibid., p. 194.

⁴Ibid., p. 198.

⁵Ibid., p. 206.



was to be brought about by the spirit working upon the material of the flesh, imparting to it the element of imperishability.¹ When man is "in Christ" the flesh can have no hold or power over him.² If one decides to live according to the flesh, he chooses this way in a trust of the human over against the divine, thus cancelling out the relationship of being "in Christ." Because Paul's ethic was based upon the expectation of the near end of the world, his theology must be taken as being quite ascetic in nature. According to Schweitzer, Paul's view was that man should make himself free from all "earthly things."³ When we compare Schweitzer's proposals with some of the more modern monographs on the Pauline "in Christ" phrases, we see that this type of mysticism will not stand up to the criticisms of more recent scholarship.⁴

Ernst Lohmeyer recommends that one must first define the nature of sin before anything of value can be ascertained concerning Paul's *ὁμολογία* usage. He says that sin is "...nicht in menschlichen Herzen, im Denken oder Wollen allein moeglich, sondern lebt gleichsam ueber ihnen in einer Sphaere von eigentuemlicher Wirklichkeit."⁵

¹Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. William Montgomery (London: A. and C. Black, 1931), pp. 274f.

²Ibid., p. 129.

³Ibid., p. 311.

⁴Michel Bouttier, En Christ, étude d'exégèse et de théologie Pauliniennes (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); Fritz Neugebauer, In Christus, eine Untersuchung zum paulinischen Glaubens-verstaendnis (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961). Cf., our discussion in Chapter VI.

⁵Ernst Lohmeyer, "Probleme paulinischer Theologie, III. Suende, Fleisch und Tod," ZNW, XXIX (1930), p. 3.

In other words, sin may be understood as a "...mythischen Gewalt; nicht der Mensch wirkt sie, sondern sie wirkt in ihm."¹ Lohmeyer remarks that in the Old Testament, flesh constituted "...den Menschen an sich sei es die Gesamtheit seiner Existenz, sei es den Leib im Gegensatz zur Seele."² But he notices how in Paul σάρξ assumes a technical currency. Lohmeyer proposes the idea that for Paul κατὰ and ἐν are linked up with σάρξ in a manner which defies Old Testament parallels. ἐν σαρκί and κατὰ σάρκα may embrace (1) a "physiological" meaning "...durch den jeder als ein Lebewesen charakterisiert ist; darum spricht Paulus von der Zeugung 'nach dem Fleisch'"; or (2) a "religious-metaphysical" sense which finds σάρξ allied with the mythical concepts of death and sin as opposed to life and the Spirit.³

The nearest thing to a definition of this second usage of σάρξ is to be found in Lohmeyer's statement: "Es bleibt also gerade fuer Paulus bestehen, dass der Begriff des Fleisches zu dem Begriff der Suende eine ganz unmittelbare Beziehung habe."⁴ In Paul there is a contradiction between the living in time and space and the true life in God. Therefore, the flesh must be regarded in its "religious-metaphysical" usage as a belonging to that which is not life, which by nature is doomed to pass away.

When Lohmeyer defines σάρξ in light of its connection with ἀμαρτία he is of course guilty of accounting for one difficult category by reference to another. However, in so far

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²Ibid., p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 21.

⁴Ibid., p. 27.

as he confirms the demonic nature of sin and death and further declares their vital link with σάρξ he has moved in a helpful direction. One problem with Lohmeyer's interpretation is that it is not altogether clear exactly what the nature of this most important connection might be. Also, it is true enough that Paul shifts from "physical" to "metaphysical" meanings for the word σάρξ. But a knowledge of this fact still leaves unanswered a whole line of pressing questions.

Schauf holds as his thesis that σάρξ means "weakness,"¹ "this worldliness"² or man as "God's enemy."³ He speaks of σάρξ as if it were identical with the sinful nature of man and even further narrows the Pauline σάρξ usage to what he calls the sensual part of human nature.⁴ At another point σάρξ is regarded as the "earthly" or that which belongs to "this side" or "this world."⁵ He draws back from giving to σάρξ any cosmic significance, preferring to say that Paul only uses mythical language to stress a "personification" of these concepts.⁶ Schauf will not say that σάρξ is evil but fails to answer why Paul could speak of σάρξ as if it were. When he makes σάρξ interchangeable with "this worldliness," Schauf claims Paul is moving from a physical to an ethical interpretation of σάρξ. As was the case with Lohmeyer, it is not sufficient for us to accept a definition of

¹Wilhelm Schauf, Sarx, Der Begriff "Fleisch" beim Apostel Paulus unter besonderer Beruecksichtigung seiner Erloesungslehre (Muenster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1924), p. 35.

²Ibid., p. 188.

³Ibid., p. 37.

⁴Ibid., p. 20f.

⁵Ibid., p. 78.

⁶Ibid., p. 32.

σάρξ which results in little more than a different name given to it. And even further, although Schaaf at various points acknowledges the importance of the apocalyptic world view and its effect on Paul's theology,¹ he fails to give σάρξ its due credit for having a share in this cosmic-eschatological dimension. We are probably correct with Bultmann to reject this interpretation as incomplete.²

The thesis of the "Bultmann School."³---Using Barthian idiom, Bultmann undermined the liberal position which claimed that man's νοῦς can responsibly choose between the way of πνεῦμα and σάρξ. The decisive thing for Bultmann was that "...alle sittliche Vollkommenheit des Menschen nichts bedeuten kann ohne jenes entscheidende Urteil Gottes."⁴ Thus, he continues: "Nur auf ihm [God] und nie auf dem sittlichen Tun [of man] beruht die δικαιοσύνη ...Ohne das entscheidende goettliche Urteil wuerde also auch der beste sittliche Wandel nichts bedeuten..."⁵

But over and above this, Bultmann's article is important for a

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²Cf., his review of Schaaf's book ThLZ, LII (1927), cols. 34f.

³The phrase "Bultmann School" is used with caution since today there are few distinguishable qualities of the "bultmanischen Schulerkreis" and there exists such a fragmentation of interests and approaches to scholarship among the Bultmann students themselves.

⁴Rudolf Bultmann, "Das Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," ZNW, XXIII (1924), p. 139.

⁵Ibid., p. 139.

single insight which was to change the whole direction in the interpretation of Romans vii. Carrying further an insight in Heitmüller's article of 1917,¹ Bultmann claimed that: "Rm 7, 7ff. enthält ja nicht eine Konfession des Paulus oder überhaupt eine Schilderung des seelischen Zustandes des unerloesten Menschen, sondern die Darstellung des objektiven Seins des Unerloesten, wie es vom Standpunkt des Erloesten aus sichtbar geworden ist."² If Bultmann's contention could be substantiated, it would signal the downfall of the moralistic appeals to Paul's conversion experience which have been the basic explanation for the difficulties of Romans vii since Holsten and before.

Kuempel took this insight of Bultmann and worked out the argument in detail. He allows that there was a close connection between $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ and $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$ in Paul but Kuempel takes exception to saying that $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ is equal to $\delta\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\varsigma$.³ He feels that the dualism in Paul is "religious" and not "metaphysical" in kind.⁴

Kuempel states that Romans vii was not meant by Paul to be autobiographical since the "I" appearing in this chapter is a "Stilform": "Den Uebergang zu dieser Verwendung der 1 Person

¹Wilhelm Heitmüller, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus," *ZThK*, XXVII (1917), p. 140. Heitmüller believes that Gal. i. 13-14 and Phil. iii. 4-6 do not picture a man in conflict between willing and doing.

²Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³Werner Georg Kuempel, *Roemer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929), pp. 18f.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 34.

bildet, wie mir scheint der kohortative oder fragende Gebrauch..."¹ Kuemmel mentions how Paul elsewhere makes use of this same method: "Paulus gebraucht diese Redeform Roem. 3, 8b; 6, 15; 13, 12; I Kor. 10, 8. 9. 22; II Kor. 7, 1; Gal. 5, 25f.; I Thess. 5, 6. 8-10, ohne dass an einer dieser Stellen seine eigene Person ernstlich mit in Betracht kaeme."² The liberal position, namely that Paul formed his doctrine of the weak and sinful flesh from his inability to keep the law, is rejected by Kuemmel, who argues that Paul expressed no doubts that the law could be fulfilled. Kuemmel shows how Paul speaks of his earlier life as a Pharisee only in Gal. i. 13, 14; I Cor. xv. 9; Rom. xi. 1; II Cor. xi. 22; Phil. iii. 5, 6 and especially in this last mentioned passage there is no question about Paul's ability to keep the law.³

Another reason for rejecting the autobiographical interpretation of Romans vii was that in this much disputed chapter Paul is speaking not only of conflict with the law but also of freedom from sin and death.⁴ Kuemmel concludes: "Denn ist es richtig, dass wir in Roem. 7 eine Schilderung des Nichtchristen vom christlichen Standpunkt aus [*italics mine*] haben, so faellt die Moeglichkeit hin, von Roem. 7 aus eine Darstellung der inneren Entwicklung des Paulus zu geben."⁵ Kuemmel maintained this earlier position against his critics in a later monograph, Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 121.

²Ibid., p. 121.

³Ibid., pp. 111f.

⁴Ibid., pp. 98f.

⁵Ibid., pp. 138f.

⁶(Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1948).

The strength of this new interpretation will be attested by many scholars. However, Kuemmel's interpretation of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ is less satisfactory. At one point he reasons that $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ carries the meaning of "weakness"¹ and sometimes this earthly quality of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ is merely contrasted to the divine nature of God: "In diesem Sinne bezeichnet dann ueberhaupt die irdischen Verhaeltnisse als dem Goettlichen gegenueber minderwertige..."² Kuemmel does show a respect for the apocalyptic-cosmic elements in the Pauline $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ usage;³ but his interest in the more existential exposition of the texts involved⁴ would not allow him to give to this area of thought its fair share in the discussion.

Bultmann then came out with an article which upheld Kuemmel's views on Romans vii. He concludes that: "...these questions have been sufficiently discussed and that there can be no doubt as to the answer: the situation characterized here is the general situation of man under law, and, to be sure, as it appears to the eye of one who has been freed from the law by Christ."⁵

Bultmann interprets $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ and $\piνεϋμα$ as having cosmic qualities and brings out the apocalyptic-deterministic contours of Paul's thought when he declares that: "...man is not primarily viewed by Paul as a conscious subject...this is clearly

¹ Roemer 7...
Ibid., p. 16.

² Ibid., p. 16.

³ Ibid., pp. 25f.

⁴ Cf., for example, his analysis of the "I" being taken captive by sin. Ibid., p. 62.

⁵ Rudolf Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the anthropology of Paul," Existence and Faith, trans. from the 1932 article by Schubert Ogden (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961), p. 147.

expressed when he holds that man wills and acts under the domination either of 'flesh' or of 'Spirit'..."¹ Bultmann also declares: "...the object of willing is life whereas the result of doing is death";² and that: "Everything that is done is from the beginning directed against its own real intention."³ These assertions would seem directly in line with the place we have learned to give to the deterministic elements of Paul's theology. However, this insight is hidden behind a flood of existentialist jargon which has very little to do with seeking to discover the source for the Pauline *oüpe* idea. Bultmann speaks of man "disposing of his existence,"⁴ "losing himself,"⁵ "being a self,"⁶ "realizing himself,"⁷ "denying himself,"⁸ and "existing from his authenticity."⁹ We may rightly question whether there might not be more involved here than man's failure to acknowledge his own true existence.

The fact that the above question is neither put unfairly nor too sharply is verified when Kaesemann emphasizes the cosmic dimensions in what appears to be a positive effort to balance out the lack of this factor in other scholars of this period.

Kaesemann goes along with Kuemmel's interpretation of Romans vii in that he certifies that sin and flesh are mythical-metaphysical powers and therefore "...darf deshalb nicht psychologisch interpretiert werden."¹⁰

¹Ibid., p. 150

²Ibid., p. 155.

³Ibid., p. 156.

⁴Ibid., p. 156.

⁵Ibid., p. 156.

⁶Ibid., p. 156.

⁷Ibid., p. 156.

⁸Ibid., p. 152.

⁹Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁰Ernst Kaesemann, Leib und Leib Christi (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1933), p. 109.

Following Pedersen, Kaesemann agreed that the Hebrews held to a dynamic concept of אלהים and אדם.¹ He continues along lines laid down by Bultmann when he declares that God is the source of existence and separation from this divine power means death.² He admits that there is room for some of the earlier explanations which would account for the evil side of flesh by stressing the Old Testament distinction of the vast distance between God and man; however, Kaesemann questions the ability of some of these scholars to make all of the Pauline σάρξ usages fit into the Old Testament בשר idea: "Denn auch dem A.T. kann mann nicht im Fleisch sein, weil man Fleisch ist."³ ἐν σαρκί means to be in a vulnerable position before the powers of temptation and to succumb to this testing is to live κατὰ σάρκα which is equivalent to the "Realitaet der Suende."⁴ Thus one can say: "Auch Christus war Fleisch im Sinne der versuchlichen Weltlichkeit des ἐν σαρκί, aber nicht als σάρξ ἀμαρτίας, nicht im Sinne der suendig geworden Weltlichkeit des κατὰ σάρκα."⁵

The concept of "worldliness" has an important place in Kaesemann's exposition of σάρξ. He will not allow this term to be defined moralistically but insists upon its cosmic significance: "σάρξ ist...eben nicht nur das Weltliche schlechthin, sondern pointiert das Nur-Weltliche..."⁶ Man is not pure individual but part of the world.⁷ When we say that flesh represents the

¹Ibid., p. 9

²Ibid., p. 15.

³Ibid., p. 103.

⁴Ibid., pp. 116f.

⁵Ibid., pp. 117.

⁶Ibid., p. 102.

⁷Ibid., p. 111.

"worldliness" of man, this means: "Welt und Fleisch sind bei Paulus grundlegend geschichtlich gefasst..."¹ In Paul this "worldliness" is no mere abstraction: "Wenn ein Mensch nach dem Fleisch lebt, so ist seine Weltlichkeit das ihn Bestimmende."² A life $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ then means to be entirely determined by a "this sidedness" existence, to be " $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa$ -only."

The cosmic dimension of Paul's theology was presented by Kaesemann in three arguments: (1) Agreeing with Lohmeyer's conclusion that $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa$ are connected, Kaesemann specifies that: "Seit oder mit Adams Tat ist die Suende eine den ganzen Kosmos bestimmende Macht...Wir stoßen also beim $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha$ -Begriff auf einen ähnlichen metaphysischen Sachverhalt wie bei $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa$."³ (2) Adam, the cosmic man, and $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa$ in Romans v and vii respectively may be paralleled; so also flesh stands with its cosmic orientation over against the spirit as a "weltweite" concept.⁴ (3) Gnostic aeon theology must be considered analogous to much of the mythological content Paul gives to the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa$ classification.⁵

Although Kaesemann himself would now be much less inclined to accept the Gnostic explanation for aspects of Pauline theology,⁶

¹Ibid., p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 115. Cf., Bultmann, art. "Paulus," RGK, IV (zweite Auflage), col. 1032.

³Kaesemann, Leib und Leib Christi, p. 109. ⁴Ibid., p. 104.

⁵Ibid., p. 104.

⁶"...ich in den 25 Jahren seit Veröffentlichung meiner Dissertation Leib und Leib Christi selber einiges dazugelernt habe und nun nicht mehr so unbekümmert in unbekanntes Gelände vorstossen wurde. Im Theologischen würde ich mich kaum mehr mit Schlier treffen." [This being a reference to Schlier's emphasis upon Gnostic backgrounds] "Christus das All und die Kirche," ThLZ, LXXXI (1956), col. 586.

his testimony marks a valid pursuit to discover a derivation for the cosmic-apocalyptic nuance of the apostle's $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\epsilon}$ expression.

Fuchs agrees with Bultmann's interpretations much more closely than we have noticed above with Kaesemann. As with Bultmann, in Fuchs the existentialist language too frequently clouds the cosmic side of Paul's $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\epsilon}$ usage. Fuchs talks about man being determined by God's demand which struggles against the "I,"¹ of "freedom from ourselves toward love,"² serving God by "neutralizing the 'I'"³ and becoming one's essential self.⁴

But in spite of the above criticisms, Fuchs does not altogether ignore the cosmic qualities in Paul. He confirms that "Das Fleisch und diese Welt gehoeren fuer Paulus zusammen."⁵ Because this sinful world is the aeon of death, man as flesh is already doomed unless God intervenes.⁶ The essence of belonging to this aeon is to become captive to it by making of creation one's god.⁷ The "this worldly" status of $\sigma\phi\rho\tilde{\epsilon}$ is described by Fuchs:

Es gibt seit Adam so etwas wie eine Eigengesetzlichkeit des suendigen Handelns, die den Menschen nicht mehr loslaesst. Damit naehern wir uns wieder denjenigen Aussagen ueber diese Welt, in denen Paulus von dem Maechten und Gewalten, den Herrschern dieses Aeons, den Elementen dieser Welt spricht.⁸

We notice again in Kuemmel, as with Fuchs and Bultmann,

¹Ernst Fuchs, Christus und der Geist bei Paulus (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1932), p. 57.

²Ibid., p. 91.

³Ibid., p. 66.

⁴Ibid., p. 108.

⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁶Ibid., p. 28f.

⁷Ibid., p. 23.

⁸Ibid., p. 23.

this preference to hold to the cosmic significance of the $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ usage and at the same time to keep alive the existentialist theological presuppositions. In a second monograph, Kuemmel declares that man is a member of the cosmos¹ and that $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ and $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ are two "bekaempfenden Maechte."² However, Kuemmel states that $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ becomes a demonic power when man decides to place his trust in the flesh.³ In Fuchs again, we notice these same two concerns. $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ and $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ possess "kosmischen Dimensionen"⁴ but the existentialist argumentation prevails over the greater part of the discussion.⁵

The study by Paul Althaus is worthy of mention since he would not be regarded as a member of the Bultmannian circle of scholars. Yet, he confirms Kuemmel's new interpretation of Romans vii,⁶ and follows some of the discoveries from the "Bultmannian School" of research. He agrees with Bultmann that the individual is cut off from his true nature in attempts to save himself and further adds that this concept of "lostness" is an apt description of hell.⁷ According to Althaus, $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ comes near to

¹Kuemmel, Das Bild des Menschen. . ., p. 21.

²Ibid., p. 35.

³Ibid., p. 35.

⁴Ernst Fuchs, Die Freiheit des Glaubens (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1949), p. 109.

⁵Ibid., pp. 73, 76, 86, 87, 95.

⁶Paul Althaus, Paulus und Luther ueber den Menschen (zweite Auflage; Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1951), p. 391.

⁷Ibid., p. 65.

being a "power" since it does not have its existence in God and thus it becomes a demonic force when one trusts in it.

In Bultmann's New Testament Theology, the existentialist approach is featured with such clarity that we are enabled to perceive both the strengths and weaknesses of this interpretation.

As we have noticed by now, the difficulty with the Pauline $\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon$ category is that there are two elements presented: (1) The "neutral" meaning of $\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon$ which designates mankind or human nature in general and corresponds to the Old Testament כָּל-בָּשָׂר . (2) The "cosmic" dimension of $\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon$ which does not fit into the mainstream of Old Testament usage and seems more Greek in nature as though flesh were evil. The problem is therefore: How does one explain the appearance of this second meaning in Paul in such a way as (a) to protect the Jewish doctrine of creation and (b) not to resort to the liberal explanation which over-emphasized the Greek influence upon Paul?

Bultmann's answer to this question is unsatisfactory because it stems from his own dogmatic position of existentialist theology thus avoiding the knotty problem of explaining this second usage in Paul. ^{To live from} God is equal to "true existence" or life while $\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon$ becomes a cosmic power when one puts trust in it, i.e. it becomes the opposite of God, a force of death. Attractive as this interpretation might be, one is still left with the pressing question of accounting for this second usage in Paul. In Bultmann, evil loses its demonic dimension in favor of a "...perverse intent, a perverse pursuit, specifically a pursuit which misses what

is good — i.e. misses 'life'..."¹ The fact that Bultmann is guilty of lapsing into anthropological-psychological language at the expense of the cosmic emphasis in some of the Pauline terminology² is confirmed by more recent exegetes from within the "Bultmann School" itself.

Schweizer evidently realized the urgency to supply some solution for a derivation of this second Pauline $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ usage. Schweizer does not stray far from the interpretation of Bultmann that $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ becomes a demonic power when man trusts in it. However, it is interesting that Schweizer's argument in holding to this position is without his teacher's existential emphasis upon God as "true existence." In fact the part played by man's decision is greatly minimized in Schweizer's discussion in favor of a more "religionsgeschichtliche" type of study.³

From examples of passages like Phil. iii. 3; Rom. viii. 13f.; Gal. iv. 23; and v. 18, Schweizer remarks that:

Das $\piνεμα$ bzw. die $\epsilon\pi\alphaγγελια$ Gottes wird im instrumentalen Dativ oder mit instrumentalem $\deltaι\alpha$ eingefuehrt,

¹Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 232.

²"Sin" is defined as the "I" being divided against itself. Ibid., p. 245. "Flesh" in its evil sense means man's attitude of trust in himself. Ibid., p. 240.

³In this area of Paul's thought, Schweizer contends that the concept of existential decision is not enough to explain the meaning of these categories: "...die Entscheidung, sein Leben auf die $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ oder auf den Herrn, seine Verheissung und seinen Geist auszurichten, ist offenbar nicht nur eine momentane Einzelentscheidung, die der freien Wahl unterliegt, sondern eine grundsatzliche, die Gesamtheit eines Lebens bestimmende." Eduard Schweizer, art. $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, TWNT, VII (1960), p. 131. Cf., also his statement: "Fleisch und Geist sind nicht zwei Maechte, zwischen denen der Mensch immer wieder frei waehlen kann." Ibid., p. 132.

waehrend Paulus dies beim Gegenbegriff $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ meidet. Die $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ ist also nicht eine in gleicher Weise wie das $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ wirkende Macht. Nie erscheint die $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ als Subjekt eines Handelns, wo sie nicht im Schatten einer Aussage ueber das Handeln des $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ steht, waehrend umgekehrt $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ haeufig als handelndes Subjekt erscheint mit oder ohne $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ im Kontext¹

He concludes from this insight that $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ is not a demonic power and then proceeds to give his explanation why, in Paul, this cosmic stress at times would seem to contradict his assertion.

Plato, Epicurus and the Stoics defined $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ with reference to its nature and substance. This is sharply in contrast to what is found in the Old Testament understanding of $\aleph \omega \beth$: "Der Mensch ist nicht von seiner Natur, sondern von seiner Beziehung her verstanden. Er ist, was er ist, in dieser Beziehung."² In the Old Testament viewpoint, "flesh" designates man's position before God. For the sake of defining this relationship, a division between God and man is communicated in the Old Testament writers. This involves speaking of a split between the realms of heaven and earth. Thus, argues Schweizer, already in the Old Testament doctrine of man we have the beginnings of a "kosmische Dualismus."

Schweizer notices in the LXX an influence of Greek type thinking which brought about a gradual "Scheidung des Kosmos in zwei Sphaeren, in die der Geister und die des Fleisches anbahnt."³ Schweizer continues to say that even though it is difficult to evaluate Philo accurately due to the mixing of various traditions, there is constantly expressed in his writings "...eine negative Wertung der $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ "⁴ where "flesh" takes the form of an evil

¹Ibid., p. 131.

²Ibid., p. 123.

³Ibid., pp. 108, 119.

⁴Ibid., p. 121. Cf., idem, "Die hellenistische Komponente im neutestamentlichen $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\varsigma}$ -Begriff," ZNW, XLVIII (1957), pp. 246f.

physical composition in the Hellenistic sense, not merely as the Old Testament concept of man being in opposition to God.

Through apocalyptic literature we discern another stage in this development:

Wohl aber ist eine schon in LXX beobachtete Entwicklung hier deutlicher greifbar. Gott und Mensch werden immer staerker geschieden, und zwar so, dass diese Scheidung mit der kosmologischen zwischen Himmel und Erde, zwischen der Sphaere der Geister und der des Fleisches verbunden erscheint.¹

The "upper world" was spoken of over against the "lower world" of earthly existence. In apocalyptic literature this portrait of the "upper" and "lower" worlds was combined intermittently with the eschatological idea of two spheres or aeons of time. Schweizer argues that in such New Testament passages as Gal. iv. 26 and Rom. i. 3f., ideas of the two spheres, measured in both space [upper and lower world] and time [present and future aeon] are combined.² Schweizer reasoned that for Paul:

Das erweist sich darin, dass die Unterscheidung zwischen koerperlich und geistig ueberhaupt keine Rolle spielt. Aber auch die Lokalbestimmungen oben und unten fehlen. Eher sind zeitlich Aussagen damit verbunden. I K 2, 6; 3, 18f. kann dieser Aeon oder dieser $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ das bezeichnen, was I K 1, 26 $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ heisst. Die geistigen Maechte daemonischer Art gehoeren durchaus in den Bereich der $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. Der entscheidende Gegensatz ist aber wie im Alten Testament der zwischen Gott und Mensch.³

In Paul, qualities of the coming aeon are spoken of as having already been fused with this one. But it must be remembered

¹Schweizer, TWNT, pp. 119, 120, 121.

²Cf., idem, "Roem. 1, 3f., und der Gegensatz von Fleisch und Geist vor und bei Paulus," Neotestamentica, gesammelte Aufsaeetze (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), pp. 186f.

³Schweizer, TWNT, p. 127.

that this apocalyptic stress on the contrasting spheres and aeons had its original root in the Old Testament idea of the opposition between the power of the Creator God and, by contrast, the weakness of man and this world.¹ It is through the influence of apocalyptic that this opposition is sharpened.

Schweizer denies that the division into power spheres of Gnostic aeon theology is, in fact, parallel to the peculiar Pauline $\sigma\delta\pi\epsilon$ idea. The Gnostic concept of "this aeon," says Schweizer, is dominated by "griech substantielle Vorstellungen." This is contrary to the Old Testament type of dualism which emphasizes the relationship in which man stands before a Holy God. He concludes that the Gnostic myth of salvation must not be presupposed in our efforts to find the meaning of the Pauline $\sigma\delta\pi\epsilon$ usage.²

Because Schweizer's work represents the only attempt to trace the origin and development of this cosmic meaning of $\sigma\delta\pi\epsilon$, he has rendered an invaluable service to our understanding of the Pauline term.

The revival and rejection of Gnostic constructions.---The emphasis upon aeon theology by Schweizer and others leads us to deal with the question of the Gnostic idea of aeons and its possible connection with the Pauline $\sigma\delta\pi\epsilon$ usage. Kaesemann had already put forth the idea that $\sigma\delta\pi\epsilon$ was "...so etwas wie einen gnostischen

¹Schweizer, TWNT, p. 128. Cf., also idem, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, spaetjuedischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testaments," The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, in honor of Charles Harold Dodd (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 504f.

²Schweizer, TWNT, p. 150.

Aeon."¹ More recently, Schmithals has reintroduced some of these arguments in favor of the Gnostic forms to explain the Pauline *οὐρε* phenomenon.²

Schweizer protests at what he calls the "dangers of a new Gnosticism" and calls to his defence such recent monographs as those by Hegermann and Schenke wherein the thesis of an influence on Paul by the Gnostic idea of the "saved-saviour" is convincingly refuted.³

Some of these monographs are worthy of detailed analysis since we will be confronted throughout our study with some similar claims of a Gnostic influence on Paul.

Schenke shows how the early works of Schlier and Kaesemann were bound up with the Gnostic "Anthropos-myth" and how these two studies exercised considerable influence over scholarship. A similar view may be seen in Wikenhauser, M. Dibelius, Bultmann and Seesemann. Standing in opposition to the Schlier-Kaesemann consensus were J. Schneider, Percy, Meinertz, Hanson, Cerfaux, Goossens and Deimel.

Schenke argues that the interpretation of the Gnostic "Urmensch" doctrine by Bousset and Reitzenstein is based upon

¹ Kaesemann, Leib und Leib Christi, p. 105.

² Walter Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth, eine Untersuchung zu den Korintherbriefen (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1956), pp. 70f.

³ Cf., Eduard Schweizer, "Some Trends in European New Testament research of today," The Chicago Theological Seminary Register, LIV (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 3. Idem, "Die Kirche als Leib Christi in den paulinischen Homologumena," ThLZ, LXXXVI (1961), cols. 161-174.

Manichaeic texts and that this interpretation can be directly traced through such scholars as Bultmann and Kraeling and is reflected in W. Bauer, Kuemmel, Kaesemann, Schlier, G. Bornkamm, and even Cullmann. Regarding Schmithals Schenke states: "Er haelt sich in seiner Ausfuehrungen ueber Gott 'Mensch' in der Gnosis ganz eng an Bousset und Kraeling."¹

Schenke contends that the whole argument of Schlier and Kaesemann stands or falls upon its ability to produce evidence in the Gnostic texts which supports their contentions. This, by the admission of Schlier and Kaesemann themselves, is a difficult task since the evidence which speaks explicitly of the "body" of the saviour is quite scarce.

Schenke, in a "religionsgeschichtliche" study, meets Schlier and Kaesemann on their own ground. Following Quispel² and C. H. Dodd,³ he makes a convincing case for the dominant role played by the Jewish Adam speculation over against the Bousset and Reitzenstein proposals.

Schenke concludes that the system of Gnosticism as presented by Bousset and Reitzenstein is not sufficient to contain the complexity of meaning in the "god-man" doctrine. He lists the differing types of "erloesten Erloeser" traditions and makes

¹ Hans-Martin Schenke, Der Gott 'Mensch' in der Gnosis, ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Diskussion ueber die paulinische Anschauung von der Kirche als Leib Christi (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), pp. 28f.

² G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die juedische Tradition," EJ, XXI (1953).

³ C. H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935).

a clear distinction of their relationship to one another:

I. Die Allgott-Vorstellung (=Weltgott-Vorstellung oder Vorstellung von Urriesen; in zwei Hauptformen vorkommend: (a) Die Welt ist Gott und wird als ein riesiger Mensch gedacht = Makroanthropus-Vorstellung; (b) Die Welt entsteht und besteht aus den Teilen eines getoeten Goettes oder Riesen; mit der Allgott-Vorstellung in ihren beiden Formen kann der Gedanke, dass der Mensch ein Mikrokosmos ist, in Beziehung stehen:

II. Die Vorstellung von ersten Menschen und Paradieses-koenig (auch Vorstellung von idealen Urkoenig; es handelt sich um einen irdischen Menschen, der zur Erfuellung seiner Aufgabe, das Paradies bzw. die paradiesische Erde zu beherrschen, mit goetlichen Herrschertugenden ausgestattet ist; nach Vollzug seiner Taetigkeit kann er in den Himmel entrueckt werden);

III. Die gnostische Vorstellung vom Gotte 'Mensch' (liegt in zwei Formen vor: (a) Der hoechste Gott namens 'Mensch' ist das Urbild der irdischen Menschen, der durch diese Ebenbildlichkeit am Wesen Gottes teilhat; (b) Ein dem hoechsten Gottesnamens 'Mensch' ebenbildliches Gottwesen gleichen Namens gelangt durch einen Fall in den irdischen Menschen, wodurch dieser an Gottes Wesen teilhat.

Schenke attests that these three forms were at times used in connection with one another. An influence of the second form through the first existed in the late Jewish speculation over the corporate nature of Adam. In Manichaeism the first form is blended with the third. The late Jewish doctrine of the "son of man" grew out of the second presented usage.

Hegermann's monograph strengthens the arguments for seeing late Jewish apocalyptic as the guide to a correct understanding of the Pauline theology. Hegermann does not deny the presence of Gnostic concepts in the New Testament but he questions whether these ideas might not just as easily come from late Judaism instead of from a Gnosticism according to the clear-cut definitions of

¹Schenke, op. cit., pp. 153f.

Bousset and Reitzenstein. Hegermann looks to the apocalyptic literature to explain the "saved-saviour" doctrine:

Dies eschatologische Bewusstsein bedeutete nicht weniger als den Glauben, dass die apokalyptische Weltende schon angebrochen sei und mit der baldigen Parusie definitiv eintreten werde. Dabei schloss sich die urchristliche Menschensohnavorstellung an entsprechende juedische an, wo die alte messianische Erwartung in apokalyptisch-kosmischer Weise ueberhoeht worden war.

Hegermann explains that the cosmic dimension which Paul gives to salvation is directly related to sources in the community of Hellenistic Judaism as over against the theory for Gnostic origins put forward by earlier scholars. In the Sophia-Logos speculation of Hellenistic Judaism he noticed cosmic-apocalyptic attributes which paralleled the ideas of Pauline theology.²

Colpe argues with Schenke that the finding of new texts makes the claim for a pre-Christian Gnosticism all the more unsure. We cannot be as certain of Gnostic influence as were Bousset and Reitzenstein for new discoveries have shown us that these Hellenistic ideas in pre-Christian times do not come from one source like that of Gnosticism but are a mixture of ideas whose origin is most difficult to define.³ There is clear evidence that some of these Gnostic ideas were incorporated into a predominantly Jewish structure of thought. This makes one hesitate to affirm the actuality of an independent Gnostic system

¹Herald Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schoepfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 124, 134. Cf., D. W. Staerk, Soter, die biblische Erloeser-erwartung als religionsgeschichtliches Problem (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1933), pp. 526, 143, 146.

²Hegermann, op. cit., pp. 111f. Cf., also Ulrich Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1959), pp. 195f.

³Carston Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule, Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erloesermythus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 201f.

or religion in pre-Christian times. Although there are still many complexities with reference to the aeon problem, Colpe is led to question the intricate Gnostic system of aeons. He is persuaded that the late Jewish aeon theology, this age and the age to come, most nearly represent Paul's orientation.¹

The overwhelming rejection of Schmithals' attempt to resurrect Gnostic categories of thought is part of a total picture which brings in focus the importance of late Jewish apocalyptic and Hellenistic Judaism for any proper understanding of the Pauline theology. To be in touch with the progress of this debate is imperative for any such study as ours. Only by so doing can we avoid going over some of the same ground that has already been won over for the cause of late Jewish theology and its influence on the apostle Paul. For precisely this reason one is somewhat dissatisfied in Kuss' treatment of $\sigma\phi\rho\zeta$ in his excursus to Romans viii. 11.² Although Kuss gives more than an adequate account of the literature in the various factions of scholarship, he cannot make up his mind whether or not the Gnostic explanation of Bultmann, Kaesemann and Schlief could account for the peculiar Pauline $\sigma\phi\rho\zeta$ usage.³ Without the consideration of this most recent turn of events relative to the discovery of newer Gnostic materials and the Dead Sea Scrolls, one is doomed to perpetuate the futile debate of the relative influence of Greek or Jewish ideas in Paul's $\sigma\phi\rho\zeta$

¹Colpe, op. cit., p. 214.

²Otto Kuss, Der Roemerbrief, zweite Lieferung (zweite unveränderte Auflage; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), pp. 504ff.

³Ibid., pp. 537f.

usage without giving deserved recognition to the role of late Jewish apocalyptic literature.

The Biblical-pietistic opposition.---We see in Schlatter a return to some of the nineteenth century lines of interest. He held that Paul presents a case that man and sin cannot live together. This world is gripped by a tendency toward evil which is at odds with the divine Spirit. In this interpretation, σάρξ means the weakness and sensuality of man.¹ Mankind is earthly and God is divine; thus a tension exists whereby man's lack of moral power is evident:

Das was Gottes ist, hat im Himmel seine Offenbarung und besitzt die himmlische Art; das Fleisch und die Glieder gehoeren dagegen mit der Erde zusammen, aus der und fuer die sie gebildet sind. Somit besteht zwischen der von ihnen erweckten Begehrung und dem goettlichen Willen ein Gegensatz.²

This "Gegensatz" is, however, not presented in its cosmic scope but with reference to the disruption of a personalistic fellowship with God. Schlatter does not succeed in resolving what appears to be the two streams of Hellenistic and Jewish thought in Paul. He ends up by stating that the σάρξ category is difficult to understand but, at any rate, the peculiar Pauline usage did not come from Hellenism.³

Gutbrod does nothing to correct Schlatter's omission of the cosmic elements in the Pauline σάρξ usage and defines flesh as the situation of "Nur-Mensch."⁴ Flesh becomes evil when it

¹Adolf Schlatter, Die Theologie der Apostel (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1922), pp. 265f.

²Ibid., p. 267.

³Ibid., p. 270.

⁴Walter Gutbrod, Die paulinische Anthropologie (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1934), p. 148.

is chosen over against the Spirit as a foundation of existence.¹
The flesh is the enemy of God insofar as man is disobedient to the law and asserts his own pride against God in this rebellion. As was true with Bultmann this type of argumentation does not give an explanation for the source of the cosmic elements in the apostle's theology.²

There are other similar studies we could mention; but as can readily be perceived, to define $\sigma\phi\rho\epsilon$ only as man's weakness throws us right back into the type of Greek versus Jewish debate which went on during the last century and contributes nothing new to our understanding of the unusual $\sigma\phi\rho\epsilon$ usage in Pauline theology.

Some concerns of recent British scholarship.---There have been many different approaches to the problem of $\sigma\phi\rho\epsilon$ by British scholarship and one should be cautious in making generalizations. Yet, from recently published studies we may discern some noticeable trends.

From the brief history of scholarship offered by Stacey³ we are justified in the suggestion that, since the time when Luedemann and others drew attention to the Jewish and Greek elements in Paul's theology, there has been a continuing debate as

¹Although Gutbrod is a disciple of Schlatter he has taken over this insight from Bultmann. Cf., Bultmann's article "Paulus," RGK, IV (zweite Auflage), col. 1035.

²In a similar fashion to Schlatter, Schumacher argues that mankind as flesh is not evil but merely weak and that sin works its corrupting effect upon him. Heinrich Schumacher, Das Ehe-Ideal des Apostel Paulus, (Muenchen: Max Hueber Verlag, 1932), pp. 41f.

³W. David Stacey, The Pauline View of Man, In Relation to its Judaic and Hellenistic Background (London: Macmillan and Co., 1956), pp. 40-55.

to the relative significance of these two worlds of thought for the theology of Paul. This Jewish versus Greek debate is not unlike the discussion carried on at the turn of the century. It is often characterized by the apologetic concern to fit the Pauline theology into a pattern which would in no way disagree with the Old Testament concepts.

Stacey represents a more modern study of this type which argues the relative influence of the Hellenistic or Jewish thought upon Pauline theology. His arguments noticeably parallel those which we outlined earlier in our chapter.¹ Therefore, he repeats the idea that the conversion experience of Paul was a central factor in the formation of the apostle's theology. According to Stacey, Paul's own mind on $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ was determined by "...his knowledge of Old Testament usage, and, secondly, by the anguish of his unique personal struggle with sin, finding its occasion in the flesh."² But again we must state our contention that all of the Pauline $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ meanings do not fit into the Old Testament patterns. Also, as we have noted before, this explanation fails to take account of the considerable evidence which favors Kuemmel's "non-autobiographical" interpretation of Romans vii. This type of answer to the question of the peculiar Pauline usage of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ is no more enlightening than the repetition of old arguments which scholarship has already found to be unsatisfactory. The assumption of a hard and fast Greek versus Jewish thought world, as we have seen from our discussion of Gnosticism, is an utterly false dichotomy as well as an oversimplification of the

¹Cf., supra, pp. 43ff.

²Ibid., p. 173.

problems involved. This type of debate takes us no closer to discovering the unique "cosmic" meaning of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ which is found in Paul.

Robinson sees the artificiality of this Greek versus Jewish conflict and openly acknowledges that in Paul there are points where the $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ usage corresponds to neither Jewish nor Greek constructions.¹ In these particular situations, Robinson suggests the possible influence of the Gnostic aeon theology on Paul.

W. D. Davies was motivated by the previously mentioned apologetic concern to refute the claims of Hellenistic influence upon Paul.² We see in his argument the restoration of Pfeiderer's thesis that associated the unique Pauline $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ usage with the rabbinic זרע הרע .³

Before listing our objections to this attempted identification, we must be reminded once more that the זרע הרע is a "...term so obscure and so variously used as to defy any real identification."⁴

¹John A. T. Robinson, The Body, A Study in Pauline Theology, Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 5 (London: SCM Press, 1961), p. 22. A helpful discussion distinguishing the various usages of $\sigma\delta\rho\epsilon$ may be found on pp. 20ff.

²W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology (London: SPCK, 1948), p. 17.

³Ibid., pp. 23f.

⁴S. Schechter, Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909), p. 242. Cf., Porter's statement: "The result of our review is that in Rabbinical usage the 'yezer' is hardly other than a name for man's evil tendencies or inclinations, the evil disposition which as a matter of experience exists in man, and which it is his moral task to subdue or control. It does not contain a metaphysical explanation of the fact, a theory as to its source or nature." Porter, op. cit., p. 32. Cf., supra, p. 44, n. 1.

We should keep in mind (1) the questionable outcome of working with such categories as the יֵצֶר הָרָע; and (2) remember that Pfleiderer's own generation already rejected this interpretation. (3) Also, today, a majority of New Testament scholars favor the world of late Jewish apocalyptic as the more likely guide to the apostle's theology.¹ In addition to the above, we raise the following more specific difficulties which prevent us from embracing Davies' position:

(1) In rabbinic theology, the seat of the יֵצֶר הָרָע is in the heart, not the flesh.²

(2) Davies adheres to the older "autobiographical" interpretation of Romans vii.³ Even though some questions remain yet unanswered, this newer interpretation of Romans vii⁴ has the burden

¹Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Neutestamentliche Fragen von Heute," ZThK, LIV (1957), p. 17 where he discusses the impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls upon present day New Testament scholarship.

²Cf., Porter, op. cit., p. 110; Schechter, op. cit., pp. 208, 255. Davies himself admits that this is a difficulty, op. cit., p. 27. His answer to this problem is that the location of the יֵצֶר הָרָע in the heart should not be pushed too far even though it is a dominant thought in rabbinic Judaism.

³"Paul's description of his moral experience in that chapter [Romans vii] is probably an account of his struggle against his evil 'yetzer.'" Ibid., pp. 23f.

⁴Alternative suggestions have been put forward by Nygren in his commentary on Romans. For a compelling reply to Nygren cf., P. Althaus, "Zur Auslegung von Roem. 7, 14ff.: Antwort an Anders Nygren," ThLZ, LXXVII (1952), cols. 475-480.

of scholarly opinion in favor of it. Its claims can neither be ignored nor lightly passed over as is so often the case.¹

(3) The concept of the law which appears in connection with the עֲרֵךְ is sharply at odds with Paul's presentation in Romans vii and elsewhere where σάρξ takes on its "cosmic" meaning. That is to say, in rabbinic Judaism, as contrasted with Paul, the study of the Torah was sufficient to ward off the power of the "evil impulse."²

(4) An optimistic view of man's abilities is present in

¹ Ellwein refers to the "non-autobiographical" interpretation of Romans vii in modern New Testament scholarship as "...dass sie heute fast einen consensus communis gefunden hat." Eduard Ellwein, "Das Raetzel von Roemer VII," KuB, I (1955), p. 255. Cf., Hildebrecht Hommel, "Das 7 Kapitel des Roemerbriefs im Licht antiker Ueberlieferung," Theologia Viatorum, VIII (1962), pp. 95ff.; Ernst Fuchs, "Existential Interpretation von Roem. 7, 7-25," ZThK, LIX (1962), p. 285. For an excellent summary of the debate cf., Kuss, op. cit., his excursus to Rom. vii. 25, "Zur Geschichte der Auslegung von Roem. 7, 7-25," pp. 452-484. Mitton is probably correct when he says: "British expositors have for the most part assumed that it [Romans vii] describes Paul's pre-Christian experience, when he lived as an ardent Pharisee 'under the law', and there has been a tendency to overlook the strength of the arguments against this interpretation." C. Leslie Mitton, "Romans VII Reconsidered," The Expository Times, LXV (1953), p. 78.

² Cf., St-B, IV (1928), "Exkurs: Der Gute und der boese Trieb," p. 473. Cf., Schechter, op. cit., p. 273 where he states: "The weapons used in this war against the Evil Yezer are mainly: occupation with the study of the Torah and works of loving-kindness."

contexts where the **יצר הרע** makes an appearance which is in vivid contrast to Paul's deterministic line of thought in Romans vii.¹

(5) The apocalyptic-deterministic outlook of Paul in Romans vii² contradicts the rabbinic emphasis of the **יצר הרע**.³ Paul never cast any doubt on his ability to keep the law. However, even the passion for doing good is met with futility.⁴ Therefore, with Paul, it is not just a case of struggling to overcome an "evil urge."

¹"The difference between the wicked and the righteous is that the wicked are in the power of their hearts, while the righteous have the heart in their power. Indeed, it would seem as if everything depended upon man." Schechter, *op. cit.*, p. 273. Cf., St-B, IV, (1928), "Exkurs: Der Gute und der böse Trieb," p. 479, where Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are recorded as having completely conquered the **יצר הרע**. Cf., also Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 133. The **יצר הרע** does not have the deterministic sense as we find in the Pauline idea of *σάρξ* in Romans vii: "Allerdings hat jeder Mensch, der Jude wie der Heide, in sich den bösen Trieb, 'jeser ha-ra', der ihn zur Sünde verführt. Aber dieser ist durch den guten Trieb, 'jeser tob', balanciert, [*italics mine*] und dieser kann durch die Hilfe des Gesetzes dem bösen Triebe Widers und leisten, so dass der Mensch nach Gottes Willen lebt." Erik Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," *Studia Theologica*, Cura Ordinum Theologorum Scandinavicum, IV (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1951), p. 68. In Paul there is no evidence of such a "balance" between *σάρξ* and some sort of good impulse.

²Even though one might be suspicious of his admitting too much influence of Iranian thought upon the Dead Sea Scrolls and late Judaism, Kuhn's article is to be commended for pointing out the apocalyptic-deterministic frame of reference for Romans vii. Karl Georg Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," *ZThK*, XLIX (1952), pp. 315, 303.

³Roy Stewart, *Rabbinic Theology* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), p. 82, remarks that the **יצר הרע** "...is only an 'inclination' not a compulsion to sin."

⁴"For the sphere of 'flesh' is by no means just the life of instinct or sensual passions, but is just as much that of the moral and religious efforts of man." Bultmann, *NTT*, I, p. 239. Cf., Ellwein, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

(6) Porter shows that Ez. xxxvi. 26 was a chief passage upon which hope was based that God would at last remove and destroy the **רע רע**. Porter then states that: "This verse is in itself proof that 'no idea of corrupt inclination attaches to the term flesh.'" ¹

(7) We notice a dissimilarity in the usage of the **רע רע** and **σάρξ** when we recall Schweizer's insight that **σάρξ** never appears as the subject of an action without the counterpart **πνεῦμα**. ²

(8) Davies admits that "there are no expressions in rabbinic Judaism which literally correspond to the use of **σάρκινος** and **σαρκικός** and **πνευματικός** and **ψυχικός** in Paul." ³ When we recall Kaesemann's insight of the unique Pauline phrases **ἐν σαρκί** and **κατὰ σάρκα**, ⁴ we may also suggest that it would be difficult to find rabbinic parallels for these.

These difficulties with Davies' interpretation are raised for consideration realizing full well that some reply could be made to each one. It would seem that these suggestions would leave us more inclined to accept Davies' second proposal in this same chapter that the **רע רע** is linked up with Paul's doctrine of sin. This we will discuss in Chapter IV. We must conclude at this point, however, that any intimate connections between the "evil impulse" and Paul's **σάρξ** usage are at best obscure and incapable of proof and more

¹Porter, op. cit., p. 131. He is here quoting A. B. Davidson, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Cambridge: The University Press, 1900), p. 263.

²Cf., Porter, op. cit., p. 111; Schechter, op. cit., pp. 242ff. where the **רע רע** is the subject of action.

³Davies, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴Cf., supra, p. 60.

probably non-existent.

The Dead Sea Scrolls: introduction.---In Lindijer we see the futility of the quest for sources of the unique Pauline $\sigma\rho\chi$ usage using the materials available prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Lindijer calls into question the fact that Paul employed $\sigma\rho\chi$ in all cases as it appeared in the Old Testament כָּל-יְהוָה .¹ Lindijer also maintains that the Greek influence upon Paul's $\sigma\rho\chi$ usage is not evident.² He does not accept Lietzmann's appeal to Philo and questions Schauf's thesis of the influence from Hellenistic Judaism upon Paul's $\sigma\rho\chi$ usage. Lindijer rejects Davies' attempt to link the rabbinic זרע with Paul's peculiar $\sigma\rho\chi$ meaning.³ Finally, he doubts that Kaesemann has proved conclusively that Gnosticism explains the Pauline $\sigma\rho\chi$ expression.⁴ Lindijer's position is that Paul received most of his meaning of $\sigma\rho\chi$ from Judaism⁵ but that there is no way out of admitting the two lines of thought in Paul which he calls Hellenistic and Jewish.⁶ His result is that where one cannot find in either Hellenistic or Jewish circles any parallel for the unique Pauline employment of $\sigma\rho\chi$, this must mean that here is to be found Paul's own and

¹C. H. Lindijer, Het Begrip "Sarx" bij Paulus (Assen: van Gorcum, 1952), p. 215.

²Ibid., p. 211.

³Ibid., p. 216. Cf., the "Exkurs: Das Fleisch und die Suende," where the connection of the "evil impulse" with $\sigma\rho\chi$ is rejected. Hans Lietzmann, An die Roemer (dritte Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1928), pp. 75f.

⁴Lindijer, op. cit., p. 210.

⁵Ibid., p. 217.

⁶Ibid., pp. 92f.

original interpretation.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, late Judaism was to be understood as having complex apocalyptic and eschatological dimensions. No longer was the single choice of an influence upon Paul that between Old Testament Judaism and Hellenism alone.

The new "religionsgeschichtliche" discussion.---Kuhn's article in the Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche, 1952, was to spark off a debate which continues to the present day. According to Kuhn, the Qumran literature presented flesh as a sort of area of attack by cosmic powers of evil; in fact σὰρξ "...becomes almost synonymous with evil."¹ In IQS xi. 7-10 and in IQH he finds the "I"-style which is the same in form and theological usage as the "I" of Romans vii. He states that in Qumran:

...the "I"-sayings appear within the framework of the dualistic power-idea, and are, therefore, essentially different from the Old Testament. In the Qumran setting, the "I" represents the human existence as "flesh" in the sense of man's belonging to the sphere of the power of the ungodly. Because of this completely new accent and meaning of the "I"-sayings, it is the Qumran texts rather than the Old Testament Psalms which offer the true and immediate parallel to the "I"-sayings of Rom. 7.²

Kuhn claims that this Qumran construction is descriptive of human existence and is non-biographical just as with Paul's method in Romans vii. He affirms that this dialectical or apocalyptic way of understanding man's situation is of paramount importance for comprehending the Pauline meaning.

¹Cf., supra, p. 29, n. 5. Translated and somewhat revised, this article appears in The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. by Krister Stendahl (London: SCM Press, 1958), p. 101. The following quotations refer to the English translation.

²Ibid., pp. 102ff.

Schulz believes, with Kuhn, that Romans vii becomes better understood through the Qumran literature.¹ He supports Kuhn's contention that the "I"-sayings of Qumran are closely parallel to the style of Romans vii. The "Sitz im Leben" for this "Ich-Du-Stil" he presents as belonging to the formal and didactic sections of the community discipline. This would seem to rule out their being understood in a personalistic way.²

Schulz convincingly argues that Qumran teaching was conscientiously an antithesis to ideas in orthodox rabbinic Judaism³ and also that it offered clear parallels to Paul's doctrine of justification.⁴ The eschatological judgment of God's wrath, so pronounced in Qumran, is "historisiert" by Paul in the event of the crucifixion of Jesus.⁵

¹Siegfried Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," ZThK, LVI (1959), p. 181. Cf., his statement: "Auch das Problem von Rom 7 wird auf Grund der Qumrantexte beleuchtet, vgl. z. B. die folgenden Aussagen: πεπρωμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (v. 14); ἡ ἐνοικοῦσά ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία (v. 17)..." Ibid., p. 181.

²Ibid., pp. 170f.

³"Der Anspruch dieses neuen Bundesvolkes von Qumran ist gegenueber dem pharisaeischen Judentum, das ja nach seiner Meinung zur Gemeinde Belials gehoert, unueberhoerbar und absolut...In Qumran ist ein zweiter, ein Neuer Bund aufgerichtet worden, weil der alte vom Sinai durch Israels Vergehen zerbrochen wurde...Die "neue" Tora ist wohl einerseits radikalisierte, sinaitische Halacha mit der Proklamation des solus Deus und seiner strafenden Gerechtigkeit, andererseits aber die eschatologische Gerechtigkeit Gottes, die rechtfertigt, vergibt und suehnt sola gratia! Wer diesen neuen Bund, seinen Mittler und die darin geoffenbarte und gelehrte Gerechtigkeit Gottes ablehnt, gehoert schon von Ewigkeit zur Gemeinde Belials und verfaellt fuer immer dem eschatologischen Fluch Gottes." Ibid., pp. 176f.

⁴Ibid., pp. 180f.

⁵Ibid., p. 182.

One of the most helpful insights of this article is that Schulz demonstrated how the Qumran doctrine of the one God of creation could be maintained despite the prevalence of dualistic language. This tension of both the kingdom of evil and a belief in monotheism constitutes the closest parallel to these same two contradictory elements found in Paul.

Roland Murphy confirms Kuhn's description of $\sigma\delta\mu\epsilon$ as the "sphere of the ungodly"¹ but tries to argue that in Qumran those of the "flesh" are no other than the "evil doers" of the Old Testament.² He argues that in the Essenes we have the contrast between the two worlds of man's weakness and God's strength.³ Murphy does not admit that Qumran played a direct role in influencing Paul's interpretation of Romans vii but leaves the possibility open for some such connection.⁴ He hesitates to give the meaning of flesh any connotations beyond the "...weak, raw, material, that the evil spirit, which is the power, can dominate."⁵ But it is interesting that Murphy also adds: "There is a definite parallelism in thought between Romans and Qumran in that both connect an evil power with the flesh. The specific nuances of 'BSR' (for Qumran) and 'SARKS' (for St. Paul) still remain; it is just that in both, flesh is brought into relationship to an evil power."⁶

Less strongly than Kuhn, Meyer refers to the Qumran definition

¹ Roland E. Murphy, "'BSR' in the Qumran Literature and 'SARKS' in the Epistle to Romans," Sacra Pagina, II (1959), p. 75.

² Ibid., p. 61.

³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴ Ibid., p. 76.

⁵ Ibid., p. 68.

⁶ Ibid., p. 75.

of "sinful flesh" as "...nichts anderes als die Suendhaftigkeit der menschlichen Existenz."¹

W. D. Davies consents to Kuhn's version of flesh as the "sphere of evil,"² but repeats his earlier arguments for the identification of flesh with the **שרה ור** and again operates within the framework of the older "autobiographical" interpretation of Romans vii.³ Without giving any good reasons, Davies understands the Qumran "I"-sayings as being individualistic instead of universal as in Kuhn and Schulz above.⁴

Betz supports Kuhn's interpretation of flesh but dedicates most of his efforts toward the description of the warfare between the two spirit powers of good and evil.⁵ In Qumran the two spirits in man are predestined by God and spoken of within a deterministic world view which militates against their identification with the rabbinic **שרה ור** or **שרה ור** where man is completely responsible

¹Meyer, article **σάρξ** TDNT, VII, p. 113.

²W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," Stendahl, ed., op. cit., p. 162.

³For an argument against Davies at this point cf., Herbert Braun, "Roemer 7, 7-25 und das Selbstverstaendnis des Qumran-Frommen," ZThK, LVI (1959), especially pp. 2f. where he asserts against Davies' views on Romans 7 the "...von der heute weitgehend vertretenen, durch Kuemmel allseitig begruendeten Einsicht..." and p. 16 where Braun concludes his argument with the words: "Wenn es sich bei Paulus um eine tiefergreifende Gespaltenheit handelt als in Qumran, so wird man mit Davies nicht sagen duerfen, die Qumran-Texte zeigten, das Bekenntnis von Roemer 7 sei dem Paulus 'in his pre-Christian days' moeglich gewesen."

⁴Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls..." p. 164.

⁵Otto Betz, Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumran-sekte (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1960), p. 125.

for choosing between them on the basis of the law.¹

Hyatt holds that the Qumran view of man is "...more pessimistic than one usually encounters in Hebrew-Jewish writings."² He contends that the sect was an apocalyptic body³ with a strongly deterministic outlook.⁴ Hyatt agrees with Kuhn that the "I"-sayings of IQH are generalized for all mankind.⁵ He states that there are similarities in some respects to IQS and the rabbinic idea of the two impulses in man; but he makes no attempt to argue for a connection of the יָרֵחַ וְיָמֵי with the evil of man's flesh.⁶ Hyatt further allows that it is entirely probable that this pessimistic idea of man was the result of Hellenistic or Iranian influences which contradicts connections of rabbinic Judaism with Qumran.⁷

Noetscher admits that the dualistic type of thinking is similar in Qumran and Paul but resents Kuhn's appeal to Iranian religion to explain the intrusion of this type of terminology into the doctrine of the Dead Sea community.⁸

¹ Ibid., pp. 146f. Cf., also Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," pp. 301f., 315.

² J. P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'hodayot,'" NTS, II (1956), p. 278.

³ Ibid., p. 283.

⁴ Ibid., p. 280.

⁵ Ibid., p. 283.

⁶ Ibid., p. 280. Notice that the two spirits struggle within man's heart. IQS iv. 23-24.

⁷ Ibid., p. 280.

⁸ Friedrich Noetscher, Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1956), p. 79.

Flusser¹ and Huppenbauer² will not go along with Kuhn's interpretation of flesh as the sphere of evil stating in rebuttal only that $\overline{\text{W}}$ in Qumran means merely the world of mankind in general terms.

The full extent of this debate has by no means run its course, but from the arguments put forward thus far it seems that some such explanation as that given by Kuhn and Schulz should be forthcoming to account for the implicit connection between $\overline{\text{W}}$ and the demonic world which is to be found throughout Qumran thought. Also, the eschatological-deterministic world view which acknowledges the unquestioned presence of both the one God of Creation but also what appears like an Iranian dualism gives us the closest "religions-geschichtliche" background to these same contradictory elements in the apostle's $\sigma\phi\gamma$ construction.

Summary and conclusion.---It remains for us to summarize the lessons learned from our history of scholarship and to formulate some general guiding principles for later exegesis.

We notice in the efforts of the liberal theologians an over-emphasis upon Hellenistic backgrounds and Augustinian pre-suppositions which runs throughout their interpretation of the Pauline $\sigma\phi\gamma$ construction.

The conservative and pietistic reactions to the liberal position were apologetic in tone and too often inclined to ignore

¹David Flusser, "The Dualism of 'Flesh and Spirit' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," Tarbiz, XXVII (1957).

²Hanswalter Huppenbauer, "'BSR', 'Flesh' in den Texten von Qumran," ThZ, XIII (1957), p. 298.

the cosmic dimension of σάρξ in order to facilitate its correspondence to the Old Testament קל-גלגל.

The "religionsgeschichtliche" studies starting in the late nineteenth century forced the consideration of a cosmic-apocalyptic scope to σάρξ - πνεῦμα and eventually showed up the inadequacies of the earlier liberal and conservative interpretations.

Various attempts were put forward to explain this cosmic meaning of σάρξ in Paul. We pointed out our dissatisfaction with the rabbinic קלגל קלגל, existentialist and Gnostic aeon theologies.

We noticed that the older autobiographical interpretation of Romans vii, in which Paul's doctrine of evil σάρξ was a result of his struggle to keep the law, was too frequently accompanied by a moralistic idea of the σάρξ - πνεῦμα opposition and that the newer interpretation of Kuemmel was to be preferred.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls we have learned the artificiality of the clear-cut Greek versus Jewish debate and have come to respect the role of late Jewish apocalyptic theology as that which closely parallels Pauline thought.

Our conclusion must therefore be that σάρξ is not to be defined as a demonic entity but as the sphere of the human which can be "possessed"¹ by the demonic power of sin to such an extent that man's will to do the good is overruled; he becomes the member of this evil aeon which is doomed to receive God's curse and

¹In this connection William Barclay presents a striking imagery of σάρξ as the "bridgehead" for sin. Flesh and Spirit, an Examination of Galatians 5. 19-23 (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 21f.

condemnation. Such mankind in Pauline theology is not merely understood as being "σῶπξ "; he has become "σῶπξ -only."¹

¹It is important to keep in mind the distinction made here between mankind as "σῶπξ " and mankind as "σῶπξ -only." The first idea corresponds to the neutral or general Old Testament usage of אָדָם. "σῶπξ " then is equal to "man" in this meaning. The phrase "σῶπξ -only" will be used throughout this study to designate the unique Pauline usage of a mankind completely oriented to a transient existence, dominated and possessed by the demonic grip of sin. Perhaps this last meaning is really what German New Testament scholars have in mind when they speak of man in a "σῶπξ -aeon" but such a definition is never made clear.

CHAPTER III

THE DEMONIC NATURE OF "LAW":

A HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Introduction.---The question confronting us in this chapter is whether or not Paul conceived of νόμος as a demonic power. The problems faced in this chapter are quite complex. Therefore, it is most essential that we specify, at the start of our study, exactly why we feel justified in suggesting the consideration of such an interpretation for the Pauline doctrine of the law.

First of all, it is apparent that a close connection between law and flesh is advanced throughout the Pauline letters. Especially in the light of our last chapter we must investigate the nature of this relationship and inquire whether or not this alliance might imply that νόμος also possesses demonic qualities.

In addition to this, in Paul νόμος plays a role in the awakening and increase of sin. We need to discover whether or not this might give us grounds for assuming that νόμος is an evil power.

Finally, and most important, we should concern ourselves with the troublesome passage in Galatians iv. 3, 9 where the law is linked up with τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου .

The first two questions have been discussed by commentators in sufficient detail so as not to require full repetition of the argument. Regarding τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, there is still much confusion and debate which will require our attention. We must assume as our working principles some of the conclusions already presented in Chapter II. Especially significant is the newer interpretation of Romans vii which altered the entire concept of νόμος for modern exegesis.

We notice in the case of νόμος, as with σάρξ, two seemingly contradictory elements in the apostle's thought. (1) The law is holy, just and good; but yet (2) it can bring about sin and be associated with the demonic στοιχεῖα. We must offer some intelligible answer which would explain the presence of this mysterious contradiction in Pauline theology.

The demonic nature of νόμος in early exegesis.---Our purpose in this summary of the earlier approaches to the Pauline νόμος problem must be strictly limited to the question — Could νόμος take on qualities of a demonic power? From a sampling of the older New Testament Theologies, we get a picture of general agreement in the treatment of the Pauline view of νόμος.

For F.C. Baur, the law itself is not evil but merely lacks power. Man's weakness and fleshly desires prevent him from being able to fulfill God's holy law.¹ Paul could describe the human situation in pre-Messianic times as that of being captive to the demands of the law. This period of the law was characterized by the sovereign

¹F.C. Baur, Paul, his life and works, II, trans. A. Menzies (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1875), pp. 132f.; idem, Vorlesungen ueber neutestamentliche Theologie, pp. 152f.

control of sin and death over mankind. Baur sees this epoch of the law in Augustinian terms: the "Sphaere des materiellen sinnlichen Lebens" overthrows man's good intentions to follow the demands of the law.¹

Similarly, in Pfleiderer, the law cannot be fulfilled due to man's sensual nature.² This material essence of humanity is in constant opposition to God's spiritual revelation through the νόμος. The human predicament is one of conflict between "...the subjective will and the objective command, between the natural self-will and the divine determination of man..."³ Fulfillment of the law is out of the question because all men are captives of sin "...and in this imprisonment they are guarded by the law, inasmuch as it never allows them to escape from the consciousness of their impotence by which they are fettered."⁴

Because of human sensuality, Woerner reckoned that the law only made man all the more the slave to his "Fleischlichkeit."⁵

The work of Glock on the law problem is questioned by Weiss as not being a "...selbstaendige wissenschaftliche Untersuchung."⁶

¹Baur, Vorlesungen ueber neutestamentliche Theologie, p. 172.

²Pfleiderer, op. cit., pp. 706. Cf., supra, p. 42, n. 4.

³Ibid., p. 76.

⁴Ibid., p. 84.

⁵Ernst Woerner, Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater (Basel: Verlag von C. F. Spittler, 1882), p. 138.

⁶J. Ph. Glock, Die Gesetzesfrage im Leben Jesu und in der Lehre des Paulus (Karlsruhe: Reuther, 1885). Cf., Weiss' Review in ThLZ, X (1885), cols. 492f.

Glock does not take into account the arguments of Baur and his school. Therefore, according to Weiss, the historical reconstructions cannot be relied upon.

Grafe goes so far as to say that the Pauline teaching on the law in Galatians is set over against Romans where νόμος is considered holy and good.¹ Grafe reiterates that through Paul's "eigene schmerzliche Erfahrung" he found the law could not be fulfilled.² The inability to meet the demands of the law was brought about by the weakness of man's flesh: "Paulus sieht naemlich die Unmoeglichkeit der Gerechtigkeit aus Gesetzeszwecken begruendet in dem Verhaeltnis des νόμος zur menschlichen σαρξ ." ³

Schulz explained that Paul spoke of the law as if it were evil only because νόμος lacked power and was incomplete.⁴

We find in Loewy a repetition of this affirmation that Paul could not fulfill the law.⁵ As we noticed in the last chapter the Pauline conversion experience again emerges as the central factor giving us a clue for understanding the apostle's unusual doctrine of the law. In an extreme statement, Loewy claims Paul presents the

¹Eduard Grafe, Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1893), p. 27.

²Ibid., p. 13.

³Ibid., p. 15.

⁴Oswald Schulz, "Verhaeltnis von Gesetz, Suende und Evangelium nach Gal. 3," ThStK, LXXIV (1902), p. 36.

⁵Moritz Loewy, "Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz," Monatschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums [sic], XLVII (1903), p. 537.

law as evil because, in fact, he did not properly understand it.¹

In a somewhat different line of argument, Holtzmann stated that the law was somehow involved in the demonic workings of sin and death upon mankind.² Holtzmann demonstrates that according to Rom iii. 20; vi. 14; vii. 5-13; and Gal iii. 21-23 one can argue that existence "under the law" was the same as being under the flesh and sin. "Die Periode des Gesetzes ist zugleich die Periode der Obmacht des Fleisches, also auch der Suende."³ Having gone this far to explain how νόμος assimilates evil qualities, Holtzmann says nothing regarding the nature of this close relationship between law and the evils of sin and death. He resorts to the idea we have encountered before, claiming the law was powerless because of the flesh and therefore could not be fulfilled owing to the weakness of man.⁴ νόμος was only of temporary value in God's plan of salvation and is to be displaced by the new power of God's grace.⁵

Schlatter admits that the law was thought of by Paul as being "schwach und vergänglich" but he does not see in the apostle's theology any reason for believing νόμος was evil. According to Schlatter, Paul's attacks upon the law express a contrast between the

¹Ibid., pp. 539f. Cf., Ernest De Witt Burton, "Redemption from the curse of the Law: An exposition of Gal. 3:13," The American Journal of Theology, X (1907), pp. 624f.; cf., also Burton's excursus on νόμος where he avoids treating the sections in Paul where νόμος might assume evil connotations. The Epistle to the Galatians, The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), pp. 459f.; A. Wakefield Slaten, "The Qualitative Use of νόμος in the Pauline Epistles," The American Journal of Theology, XXII (1919), pp. 213f.

²Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, op. cit., pp. 51f. Cf., supra, p. 2, n. 5.

³Ibid., p. 34.

⁴Ibid., pp. 30f.

⁵Ibid., p. 114.

"heavenly" and "earthly," an acknowledgment that grace is a more complete divine revelation than was the law. In Schlatter's judgment, the Torah is not the "last word" since it was mediated by angels thus representing an indirect action of God.¹ It would seem from this description that Schlatter and others like him do not come to grips with those sections in Paul where it is inescapable that the apostle almost reaches the point of equating the law with sin. In the language of Paul, to return to the law meant a slavery to evil.

In these studies we find a hesitation to ascribe to the law any qualities of an evil power. By arguing that it was not the law but man's sensual flesh that was evil, these earlier scholars could avoid some of the difficulties and contradictions confronting us in the Pauline corpus. These arguments are true enough in as far as they go, but to characterize man's evil flesh in terms of Augustinian presuppositions is to miss the cosmic and "heilsgeschichtliche" emphasis of Paul's thoughts on the law. In these scholars we still have no answer to the unique sections of the apostle's theology where the law plays a large part in the increase of sin and death.

To insist that the law was considered evil and powerless solely because man could not fulfill its demands and make it effective is also an unsatisfactory explanation in the light of more modern studies on Romans vii.

There is a suggestion of apologetic overtones in the various efforts to smooth over what in Paul appears to be an implicit antinomianism.

¹A. Schlatter, op. cit., pp. 287f. Cf., supra, p. 74, n. 1.

In these works we find no adequate answer to our question of the two elements of both good and evil in the Pauline νόμος doctrine. The confrontation of this baffling riddle and the serious consideration of possible evil connotations for νόμος are the essential characteristics of the more modern exegesis.

The demonic nature of νόμος in modern exegesis.---In connection with the previously mentioned studies by Bultmann and Kuemmel which remolded the interpretation of Romans vii, we should also mention the significant contribution to this question made by Ernst Lohmeyer. His article on the Pauline phrase ἔργον νόμου attests quite forcibly that "...meint das Wort νόμος nicht den Akt, durch den ein Ich die Bedingungen des Gesetzes erfuehlt oder nicht erfuehlt."¹ To be in the service of the law does not mean to achieve the individual stipulations but to acknowledge its claim of lordship. Paul's complaint against the law, is not essentially concerned with the question of a cleft between God's will and man's single acts of striving to reach divine standards. In fact, Paul with this term ἔργον νόμου is not describing individual acts but pointing to the general nature of an existence of constriction and tension under the law. If Lohmeyer is correct in this analysis, it leads to the suggestion that the Pauline doctrine of the law merits attention under a wider perspective than that which was usually afforded by the older exegesis. These earlier studies saw the inadequacies of the law mainly through the moral struggles of an ardent pharisee. The contrasting existences "under law" and "under Christ" stand out in sharp relief only when seen from this

¹Ernst Lohmeyer, "Gesetzeswerke," Probleme paulinischer Theologie (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, no date given), p. 67.

side of the cross and resurrection. When Paul denies justification by the *ἔργον νόμου* or when we ask how the law could be described as evil, we must understand that Paul looks back upon the Torah with the eyes of faith from this aeon of Christ.

Grundmann evidently sees this essential point. His contention is that Paul's doctrine of freedom from the law should be explained as an assertion of a radical break with the past age: "Es handelt sich um ein grosses kosmischen Geschehen: durch Christus ist es gegenueber der Gesetzes -Suende -und Todesherrschaft zur Gnaden -und Lebensherrschaft gekommen."¹ According to Paul, Grundmann continues, the Jewish doctrine of the law did not make a realistic appraisal of sin. In the face of this power of sin the law could not be the guarantor of holiness because "...die Suende nicht nur Verletzung der goettlichen Majestaet ist — soweit kam der Jude auch — sondern dass sie aktive Feindschaft ist..."² Grundmann, without apology, asserts that Paul is nowhere more sharply separated from Judaism than in his doctrine of the law.³

Regarding this evil aspect of the law, Dehn suggests:

Diese Negativitaet entstammt freilich nicht seinem Weisen, sondern der gegebenen Situation. Indem der im Gesetz zum Ausdruck kommende heilige Gotteswille zusammenstoesst mit dem suendigen Menschenwillen, geraet das Gesetz in eine eigentuemliche Dialektik hinein, innerhalb derer es sich als eine Unheilmacht fuer den Menschen erweist.⁴

¹Walter Grundmann, "Gesetz, Rechtfertigung und Mystik bei Paulus," *ZNW*, XXII (1933), p. 62.

²*Ibid.*, p. 52.

³*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴Guenther Dehn, *Gesetz oder Evangelium?* (Berlin: Furche Verlag, 1934), p. 116.

The law was given to diminish sin; but Dehn believes Paul's description was the opposite of this for the intention of exposing before man the utter lostness of his situation prior to the coming of Christ. However, even though the law can be pictured as a "beinah...daemonischen Macht,"¹ Dehn is lacking in any details which would give us further insight into this peculiar interpretation of νόμος .

Bornkamm is more helpful. He characterizes the old age as one of a radical lostness. Not only man's failure to keep the law but his zeal for the law can lead to an increase of the demonic rulerhsip: "...durch die Suende des Menschen ist sein Gesetzeseifer nun zum Dienst seiner selbst und seiner daemonischen Natur geworden."² In the moment when man would declare his freedom and ability to choose between good and evil "...verfaellt er daemonischen Gewalten, die ueber ihn bestimmen."³ Man cannot, on his own, find strength to secure life for he is determined by his sins. Man's fallenness in sin terminates in death as that last enemy which brings to nothing the good purpose of God. This radical lostness is seen by Bornkamm in its full cosmic dimensions as the situation of the world before Christ: "Das ist die Situation, in der Paulus den Menschen sieht vor dem Glauben, und nicht nur den Menschen sondern die ganze Schoepfung..."⁴ When Christ brings about the culmination of the old aeon, at the same time, he brings about an end to the law which now belongs to the past:

¹Ibid., p. 117.

²Guenther Bornkamm, Gesetz und Schoepfung im Neuen Testament (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1934), p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴Ibid., p. 26.

"Wie es fuer die Schoepfung gilt, so auch fuer das Gesetz: die Ankunft des neuen Aeon in Jesus Christus ist ein Anbruch und nicht ein Zustand."¹

We discover a different course of logic with Brandt. He still assumes that man is incapable of keeping the law. Christ's obedience and fulfilling of the law meant its end whereby love was made the new example. Although Brandt concedes that in Galatians, law, flesh, sin and death are closely united with images of slavery and condemnation, he describes the victory over the law, not in terms of a radical aeon theology like the above description of Bornkamm but, more generally, as the establishment of the new order of love and the Spirit.²

Mittring brings into the discussion once more the notion that the evil aspect of law is only that it lacks power to meet sin.³ His setting out of Lutheran dogma, by itself, is no complete answer and fails to encounter the more difficult aspects of the Pauline νόμος doctrine.⁴

Interestingly, Bultmann proposes that Paul's resistance to the law is distinguished from what we meet in the disputations of Jesus. Paul, for instance, does not duplicate Jesus' words of controversy over the Sabbath or purity laws. In Bultmann's estimation, Paul was not so much concerned with the danger of the words of law

¹Ibid., p. 26.

²Wilhelm Brandt, Das Gesetz Israels und die Gesetze der Heiden (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1936), p. 31.

³Cf., Heinrich Matthes, "Theologische Ethik als Geistesethik: Die Dynamik des heiligen Geistes zur Ueberwindung des 'Impossible legis,'" ZSyTh, XVI (1939), pp. 81f.

⁴Karl Mittring, "Gesetz und Evangel im Neuen Testament," EvTh, V (1938), pp. 432f.

being observed only outwardly. In fact it is just the opposite. The apostle "...will gerade die juedische Froemigkeit treffen, der die Erfuellung des Gesetzes ein Herzensanliegen ist; sie eifern fuer Gott, aber befangen in einem blinden Wahn (Rm. 10, 2)."¹ The Jew believed the way to holiness could be won in seeking to establish one's righteousness through the fulfilling of the law. Bultmann concludes that the body of Paul's argument was that even in the zeal for fulfilling the law was to be found an open avenue to death.² Thus Paul proclaims that the law is not the means to holiness. Bultmann explains that the concept of *δικαιοσύνη* both in the Old Testament and in Judaism, was understood in terms of one's relationship to another, and never as a "Beschaffenheit" which man could obtain.³ Paul realized that in his struggle to obtain righteousness under the law, the pious Jew was only led the deeper into death.

Blaeser insists that the law in Galatians iii and iv is not "absolut goettlich" since it was mediated by angels and did not come directly from God.⁴ Before the salvation of Christ, all of life meant slavery under "goettfeindlichen Maechte." "Das Gesetz hatte aus sich nicht die Kraft die Juden aus der Herrschaft der gottfeindlichen Geistermaechte zu befreien."⁵ Because the law led to the increase of

¹Rudolf Bultmann, "Christus des Gesetzes Ende," GluV, II (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1952), p. 37.

²Cf., Heinrich Schlier, "Ueber das vollkommene Gesetz der Freiheit," Festschrift Rudolf Bultmann zum 65 Geburtstag (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1949), p. 194.

³Bultmann, "Christus des Gesetzes Ende," p. 37.

⁴Peter Blaeser, Das Gesetz bei Paulus (Muenster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1941), p. 48.

⁵Ibid., p. 61.

sin and thus the punishment by God's wrath, one is permitted to say: "Das Gesetz trieb die Menschen immer tiefer in die Macht der gottfeindlichen Geistermaechte hinein."¹ According to Blaeser, Paul regarded this slavery as the primary evil of the law.² For Blaeser, even though the law is not equivalent to sin, in Pauline theology, one finds "...eine innere Verbindung zwischen dem Gesetz einerseits und Suende und Tod andererseits..."³ The law is not sin but the "allerdings unfreiwillige Mittel" through which sin becomes a power over man. Similar to the line of thought which is present in Bultmann, Blaeser demonstrates how even the "holy and the good" can be distorted by man so that the demonic power of sin may bring about destruction. Thus, we recognize here not the sensual side of man but, more precisely, his goodness and zeal which is improperly directed. As is so often evidenced even in Old Testament tradition, through man's sinful deeds, God's blessing may be transformed into a curse.⁴ It is one function of the demonic to convert good to its own evil purposes.⁵ One may therefore be beguiled and defrauded by his own attempts at goodness.

¹Ibid., p. 61.

²Cf., also in this regard Deissmann's statement that in Romans iii. 24 and elsewhere Paul is concerned not with a "ransoming" λύτρωσις but with a "ransoming away" ἀπολύτρωσις. In the first century this could be a reference to the purchase money for being bought from slavery. "Later ecclesiastical speculation generally inclined to the view that the redemption from the slavery of Satan was meant." Adolf Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), p. 327.

³Blaeser, op. cit., p. 126.

⁴Cf., Gunther Bornkamm, "Das Anathema in der urchristlichen Abendmahlsliturgie," DEdG (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), pp. 123f.

⁵Blaeser, op. cit., pp. 136f.

According to Blaeser, the law has an "innere Finalitaet" since it brings about sin and death though promising life. The law is powerless; it belongs to the past, and is contrasted to the new aeon of power in Christ.¹

Maurer does not contribute any essentially new interpretation to the question of the law, mainly because his study is so preoccupied with proving Paul was not an antinomist. Maurer wished to fit Paul's doctrine of the law into a smooth promise-fulfillment scheme. He discounts Schlier's interpretation of νόμος as being placed in close connection with the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου mainly because it disrupts his own neat pattern. Maurer explains that the contrasting ideas of Romans vii and the epistle to the Galatians are due to the different situation of this latter epistle which was written in the heat of conflict against the Jewish opponents. This implies of course, that the doctrine of the law in Galatians should not be regarded as normative. Such a conclusion warrants our suspicion for it too easily brushes aside the difficulties of the νόμος problem in the Galatian epistle.

Denn daher Paulus das AT recht verstand, dann duerfen wir uns heute seiner Gesetzeslehre und seinem Verstaendnis des ATs anvertrauen. Wenn aber Paulus, der das AT auf Christus hindeutet, mit Christus nicht im Einklang steht, dann wird es auch fuer uns unmoeglich sein, das AT noch laenger in der Kirche als Gottes Offenbarung zu behalten. Einen Mittelweg gibt es nicht...²

Surely, we must agree with Dibelius that the above affirmation

¹Ibid., p. 212.

²Christian Maurer, Die Gesetzeslehre des Paulus (Zuerich: A. G. Zollikon, 1941), p. 70, cf., p. 27.

is thoroughly apologetic in tone and sets up false alternatives.¹

Gutbrod declares that the cross determines Paul's understanding of the law and that this factor alone can explain the paradox of both his affirmation and negation of the Torah.² The law turns sin into a deadly weapon. Apart from Christ man is still living in this age and therefore enslaved to the law. Apart from the death of Christ, and its meaning for Paul, Gutbrod believes that it would be impossible to account for this negative aspect of the law in the apostle's thought. At any rate, Gutbrod concludes:

There is no sufficient basis in exegesis for the theory that his own painful experience when faced by the demands of the law and his sense of unworthiness with regard to the law led Paul to hold this view of it. On the one hand this is not required by Rom. vii, and on the other it is made practically impossible by Phil. iii. 6. κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἀμεπτός.

Joest claims that Paul sanctioned this negative attitude toward the law because the Torah served to separate man from God thus leaving him a convenient prey to the powers of evil. "Es [the law] haelt den Menschen von Gott ab, es isoliert ihn von Gott und ist darin... faktisch unheilig, von Gott geschnitten ist."⁴ Christ as the end

¹Dibelius, review of Maurer's book, ThLZ, LXVIII (1943), cols. 283f.

²Herman Kleinknecht and W. Gutbrod, "Law," trans. from the art. νόμος (1942), Bible Key Words from Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), p. 106.

³Ibid., p. 119.

⁴Wilfried Joest, Gesetz und Freiheit (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), p. 141.

of the law stands for Paul "...in der Mitte seines Christuszeugnisses."¹ The coming of the Messiah must be understood in a cosmic sense, as the emergence of the new aeon. The atonement assumes a "dynamischen Charakter" turning to futility the past aeon of the law.

Even though most of his monograph pertains to a background study of the gospels, in Davies we find the pre-Christian traditions about the law faithfully presented. Davies acknowledges the important role of apocalyptic literature in modern interpretation of the New Testament. We find presented in Davies' monograph the ancient rabbinic traditions on the law and the Messianic age. To be noticed is their conflict with the essentially negative disposition in some of the Pauline νόμος teaching. In rabbinic Judaism the new aeon was to be noticeably typified by obedience to the law "in the heart" or "inward parts."² In the coming age, sin, the barrier to knowledge, would be removed so that all may observe the New Torah.³ In Palestinian and Hellenistic-Judaistic belief, the Torah was never to be replaced. Obedience would be the dominant sign of the Messianic age when all the obscurities of the Torah would be made plain.⁴ In the Palestinian traditions, the law was never considered to be evil, requiring replacement, but rather a "new spirit" and "new heart" would enable man, in the Messianic age, to observe fully the same Jewish Torah which was given at Mount Sinai. It would seem a logical conclusion of Davies'

¹Ibid., p. 142.

²W. D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to come, Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, VII (Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952), p. 10.

³Ibid., p. 16.

⁴Ibid., p. 84.

study that Paul, especially here with his negative teaching concerning the law, clearly does not agree with the central core of rabbinic theology.

For Bornkamm, the Greek word ἐπιθυμία in Romans vii must not be interpreted as "sensual desire." Even our ἐπιθυμία for the good makes us objects of divine wrath when it is an attempt to establish our own righteousness. "In der Entfaltung der Begierde, also gerade meines Lebensdranges, ist das Todesverhaengnis fuer mich besiegelt."¹ This newer interpretation of ἐπιθυμία descends the moralistic extremes found in earlier pietistic and liberal exegesis.² Man can even be deceived by the good and holy law³ which promises life and results in death. Through the law sin increases to an enslaving power. However, the evil power of sin only appears to have completely usurped and turned to its own purposes the holy law of God. This take-over is permitted by God. In fact it is precisely by means of it that there is brought about in mankind a full awareness of sin's universal power, awakening him to a dependence upon grace alone.⁴ The law belongs to the personality of the temporary age because it proves powerless to break through the "Bastion der σάρξ."⁵

Bultmann takes Bornkamm's point a little further. To return to the law is to live again in the past aeon ruled by sin. To die to the law and live to God is the meaning of "Rechtfertigung."⁶

¹Guenther Bornkamm, "Suende, Gesetz und Tod," DEdG, p. 55.

²Ibid., pp. 64f.

³Ibid., pp. 57f.

⁴Ibid., pp. 60f.

⁵Ibid., p. 67.

⁶Rudolf Bultmann, "Zur Auslegung von Gal. 2, 14-18," Sonderheft Evangelische Theologie fuer Ernst Wolf zum 50 Geburtstag (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), pp. 44f.

Friedrich says that according to Romans v. 12f., Paul divides the world into four periods of time, (1) from paradise until the expulsion of Adam from the garden, (2) from Adam to Moses, (3) from Moses until Christ, (4) after which came the Messianic age. From the time of the law of Moses, sin was "reckoned" (ἐλλογέται) or recorded in the "himmlischen Schuldbuechern" until the day of man's final judgement. Before this time, in the absence of law as the divine accuser, death itself was man's punishment. According to Friedrich, the shift into the final Messianic aeon took place when Christ absorbed on our behalf the judgment and curse. This event signals the end of the law and its "reckoning of sin."¹

Recent studies by Braun² and Roessler have vigorously reaffirmed that for Judaism the way of the Torah describes the whole of man's existence in relationship to God. It was believed that one's relationship to God through the Torah was not only in terms of single matters but "...das gesamte Leben des Gerechten unter das Gesetz zu stellen."³ In Judaism the idea of "Torah" was interchanged with "the wisdom of God" or even "God."⁴ In apocalyptic literature, the historical giving of the law with its individual contents were of little importance compared

¹Gerhard Friedrich, "ἁμαρτία : . . . οὐκ ἐλλογέται Roem. v. 13, ThLZ, LXXVII (1952), cols. 523f.

²Herbert Braun, Späthuedische haeretischer und frue-christlicher Radikalismus, I und II (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1957), passim.

³Dietrich Roessler, Gesetz und Geschichte (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1960), p. 18.

⁴Ibid., p. 51.

with the role played by the Torah in the guiding and ordering of history.¹ It is probable that Paul might be operating within this understanding of the law. History is seen by the apocalypticists as a unity, in terms of "Weltreich," from beginning to the final eschatological act, the making holy of God's people: "Mit dem eschatologischen Akt endet auch die Funktion der kosmischen Ordnungen, ja die Aufloesung dieser Ordnungen gehoert zu den wesentlichen Kriterien des Eschaton hinzu."² This eschatological act of God in the end time brings about the culmination of "this world" and announces the arrival of "Heilszeit."³ Israel's "election" is guarantee and, in fact, partial participation in the eschatological election to holiness which will be finalized in the last days: "Kein anderer Akt des goettlichen Handelns wird hier als Zeichen der Erwaehlung genannt — etwa die Errettung des Volkes oder die Zusicherung des Heils — sondern allein das Gesetz."⁴

This eschatological and cosmic scheme of history, which was due to the influence of apocalyptic thinking upon Jewish theology,⁵ seems to have been a view shared by Paul. However, for the apostle, the final eschatological act, that which brings an end to the past aeon and symbolizes the coming of true holiness, has now come to pass in the

¹ Cf. Kraus' statement: "Die Thora ist die vorgegebene Norm der Geschichte." Hans Joachim Kraus, "Gesetz und Geschichte," EvTh, XVIII (1951), p. 418.

² Roessler, op. cit., p. 54.

³ Ibid., pp. 60f.

⁴ Ibid., p. 70

⁵ Ibid., pp. 110f.

advent of Jesus.¹

In a recent article, Cranfield states that in Romans vii. 11, where the law provides an "occasion" for sin, this word ἄφορμή is a military term and means a "foothold" or "base of operations."² In Cranfield's study the essential concern is to refute what Duncan had earlier labelled as Paul's "depreciatory account of the Law" by affirming that "God's word in scripture is one"³ and that "For Paul, the law is not abolished by Christ."⁴ In supporting this last mentioned affirmation, Cranfield himself admits that he is going against the "assured result" of modern scholarship.⁵ Unfortunately, in spite of Cranfield, we cannot so easily explain away this negative side of the Pauline νόμος doctrine unless much stronger reasons are offered to justify a departure from the mainstream of contemporary exegesis.⁶

Perhaps as we turn now to the problem of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου the picture may be brought into clearer focus and we may at last be in a position to offer an explanation for this curious negative judgment of the law in the Pauline letters.

¹"Paulus — in schärfstem Gegensatz zu rabbinischen Vorstellungen von der Praeexistenz und der Ewigkeit des Gesetzes — geradezu herausfordernd dessen episodenhaften Charakter hervorhebt." Gerhard Ebeling "Erwägungen zur Lehre vom Gesetz," ZThK, LV (1958), pp. 287, 305. Cf., also Verweij's statement that Paul "...stellt vielmehr heraus, das das Gesetz nur eine Epoche im göttlichen Heilsplan darstellt." P. G. Verweij, Evangelium und neues Gesetz in der ältesten Christenheit bis auf Marcion (Utrecht: V/H Kemink en Zoon, 1960), p. 351.

²C. E. B. Cranfield, "St. Paul and the Law," SJT, XVII (1964), p. 46. Cf., supra, p. 90 where σάρξ too is regarded as the "bridgehead" from which the evil power of sin can take possession of man.

³Ibid., p. 68

⁴Ibid., p. 54.

⁵Ibid., p. 54

⁶Particularly suspicious are the statements that the epistle of Galatians should not be taken as "one's starting-point in trying to understand Paul's teaching on the law"; and that the στοιχεῖα in Gal. iv. 3, 9 refer not to the law itself but only to "the legalistic misunderstanding and misuse of it." Ibid., pp. 62f.

τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου , Galatians iv.3, 9--It

is imperative that we discover whether the word στοιχεῖα in Gal. iv. 3, 9 should be interpreted to mean some sort of demonic powers. And also, if this is indeed the outcome, how can we resolve Paul's opposing statements that the law is good and, at the same time, associated with spiritual forces of evil?

In a brief history of scholarship, Oepke lists five meanings which from time to time have been assigned to the word στοιχεῖα : (1) "Buchstabe," (2) "Grundstoffe," (3) "Grundlage des Wissens," (4) "Gestirne" or "Planeten" and (5) "Die Elemente und Gestirne als persoenliche gedachte Wesen, Daemonen." ¹

Earlier scholarship tended to support the first three meanings while the gradually accepted consensus in more modern times has been to endorse the fourth and especially the fifth meaning.

Against Sieffert's definition, "the beginning elements of religion," Schneckenberger stated that the expression τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου : "bezeichnet bloss eine Qualitaet des νόμος ..." namely that of being under slavery to the material world and to earthly things. ²

Similarly, Ritschl, Zahn and Luetgert understood τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου to describe a general state of slavery. Others, however, claimed more was involved; i.e. These στοιχεῖα τοῦ

¹Albrecht Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater (2 Auflage; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1960), pp. 94f.

²M. Schneckenberger, "Was sind die στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου" Theologische Jahrbuecher, VII (1848), pp. 448f. Cf., also this same view in Eduard Grafe, Die Paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz (Freiburg: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1893), p. 29.

κόσμου were angels or star spirits who possessed demonic qualities.¹

From a linguistic point of view, Diels concludes that our best explanation for the στοιχεῖα is found in the concept of star spirits.² The definition "beginning elements" is impossible and the meaning "letters of an alphabet" can be maintained only insofar as we remember they are ordered into a line or rank.³ This implies being fixed in a row as soldiers, therefore under an authority or power of some kind.⁴

Pfeiffer illustrated further how these στοιχεῖα refer to stars which were supposedly inhabited by the souls or spirits of departed mankind.⁵ In ancient astrologies there was in existence a strong belief that the stars had manipulating power over the fate of mankind.⁶

Gressmann maintained that this astral world view with its belief in star spirits began in Babylon, was given impetus by the Greeks and achieved a widespread currency by the first century B. C.

¹Cf., Pfister who argues that Paul was warning the Galatians not to return "unter die Herrschaft der Dämonen." Friedrich Pfister, στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, Philologus, Zeitschrift fuer das classische Alterthum, [sic.] LXIX (1910), p. 424. Hincks also concludes: "It must be admitted that Paul said 'elements', meaning 'elemental spirits.'" E. Y. Hincks, "The Meaning of the Phrase στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in Gal. iv. 3 and Col. ii. 8," JBL, VI (1896), p. 190.

²Hermann Diels, "Elementum," Eine Vorarbeit zum Griechischen und Lateinischen Thesaurus (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1899), p. 51.

³Ibid., p. 58.

⁴Ibid., p. 58.

⁵Erwin Pfeiffer, Studien zum antiken Sternglauben (Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1916), p. 113.

⁶Franz Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York: Putman's and Sons, 1912), pp. 28ff., et passim.

Gressmann cites the studies by Kerenyi¹ and Reinhardt² who concur that these star spirits had power to control and determine the destinies of humanity.³ He also remarks that both in Hellenistic and Babylonian theology there was an interrelatedness between the rule of these star spirits and their control over aeons of time.⁴

Scheu points out that even with the early appearances of the word στοιχεῖον in Aristophanes and Tatian an astronomical connotation was in evidence. The word probably had the root meaning of "Grundstoffe" and "Buchstabe" with obvious astronomical nuances involved. Later, by the time of the first century B.C. and first century A.D., the meaning of divine or demonic angel powers was secured, probably under the influence of oriental astral religion.⁵

Blaeser suggests that in some Orphic Hymns the στοιχεῖα are spoken of as personal demons and that we may follow Scheu with the definition of "persoenliche, untergoettliche Maechte" for the στοιχεῖα.⁶ Also to be mentioned in this respect is the statement of Hatch quoted by Oepke: "Im Neugriechischen und Syrischen

¹Karl Kerenyi, Astrologia Platonica, 1923.

²Karl Reinhardt, Poseidonius, 1921.

³Hugo Gressmann, Die hellenistische Gestirnreligion (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1925), p. 17.

⁴Ibid., pp. 23f.

⁵Lawrence Edward Scheu, Die 'Weltelemente' beim Apostel Paulus (Washington D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1933), pp. 135f. Cf., Joseph Huby "STOICHEIA dans Bardesane et dans saint Paul, Biblica, XV (1934), p. 367.

⁶Blaeser, op. cit., pp. 56f.

ist στοιχεῖδ (ΚΩΖΙΥΔΑ) ein landlaeufiger Ausdruck fuer Geist oder Daemon."¹

Reicke confirms our earlier observation that: "Recent scholars, both theologians and philologists, have generally understood Paul to use τὰ στοιχεῖα in a cosmological, not a logical-didactic, sense..."² This means that being under the law is to be equated with slavery to spiritual powers, the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.³ Reicke warns against those who would point to the special circumstances of the Galatian letter and thereby excuse the apostle's "momentary exaggeration" regarding the evil nature of the law.⁴ Both στοιχεῖα and κόσμος are theological concepts, comparable to οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου in I Cor. ii. 6, symbolizing "the fallen world, the flesh, and corruptibility."⁵ Reicke relates how in II Peter iii. 10 and 12 the στοιχεῖα refer to the heavenly bodies and comprise those things which shall perish in the eschatological destruction of the last days.⁶ Reicke considers that we have sufficient reason to believe the στοιχεῖα in Galatians are connected with "this world, the flesh and the kingdom of evil."⁷ Reicke is also of the opinion that the angelic powers who in Gal. iii. 19 are the mediators and guardians of the law are none other than the στοιχεῖα of Gal. iv. 3, 9.⁸ In concluding, Reicke leaves open for the reader's

¹"τὰ στοιχεῖα in Paul and Bardaisan," *JThS*, XXVIII (1927), pp. 181f. *Apud*, Oepke, *op. cit.*, p. 95. Cf., also the bibliography quoted by Bo Reicke, "The Law and This World according to Paul," *JBL*, LXX (1951), p. 261, n. 10.

²*Ibid.*, p. 264.

³*Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 265

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 265

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 265

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 262

consideration the reasons which might lie behind this contradiction of goodness and evil in the Pauline doctrine of the law.¹

Nilsson illustrates how in Hellenism, under the influence of the Pythagoreans, there developed a significant mythology of the star world. The planets could thus be regarded as the "Wachhunde der Unterweltskoenigen."² In the Hellenistic world one gains the feeling that mankind is being led blindly by chaotic forces. Nilsson regards this mythical world view as a considerable help for our understanding of Paul's warning for the Galatians not to return to a slavery under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου.³ For Hellenism, this reverence for the stars in the heavenly sphere was at times so strong as to parallel the worship of gods.⁴

An article by Koller is important for our consideration for it shows the interrelatedness of ἔρχαι, στοιχεῖα and δυνάμεις. To be under the στοιχεῖα was comparable with slavery to angelic powers.⁵

Braun claims that now, since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we must recognize for our interpreting of the New Testament the important role played by Jewish apocalyptic thinking with its end-drama eschatology. The law cannot lead to holiness for it incites "Selbstruhm"

¹Ibid., p. 276.

²Martin P. Nilsson, "Die Astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik," Numen, International Review for the History of Religions, I (1954), p. 109.

³Ibid., p. 115.

⁴Ibid., p. 119.

⁵H. Koller, στοιχεῖον, Glotta, Zeitschrift fuer griechische und lateinische Sprache, XXXIV (1955), pp. 173f.

and belongs to the past aeon: "...so fallen die harten Worte: die Tora stammt von den Dämonen (Gal. 4, 3)."¹

Since as early as Everling² and Dibelius³ the angels of Gal. iii. 19 have been identified with the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου of Gal. iv. 3, 9, who, as "Volkerengel," are the demonic powers standing behind the law and controlling the fortunes of men. Much of modern scholarship has been influenced by this interpretation.

More recently, Schlier defends this identification, allowing that it is close to what is found in Gnostic theology.⁴ He states that: "Die Engel sind also von Paulus irgendwie als Urheber des Gesetzes gedacht."⁵ In Schlier's opinion the ἐπιτρόποι and οἰκονόμοι of Gal. iv. 2 are figures of speech likened to the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου under whom man stands in bondage.⁶ The στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου are "daemonische Potenzen," star spirits, a part of the fallen world.⁷

Later, we will need to reflect more fully upon the relationship of Gal. iii. 19 to iv. 3, 9. Here it is sufficient to say that

¹H. Braun, "Die Problematik einer Theologie des Neuen Testaments," ZThK, LVIII (1961), pp. 6f.

²Everling, Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie, pp. 67f.

³Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 78f.

⁴Cf., a similar view in Walter Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien," ZNW XLVII (1956), pp. 49f.

⁵Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater (11 durchgesehene Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1951), pp. 109f.

⁶Ibid., p. 132.

⁷Ibid., p. 134.

objections to this type of interpretation have not been lacking in modern exegesis.¹ These dissident voices may be summarized as claiming that here in Gal. iii. 19 Paul was not necessarily submitting that the angels were the authors of the law. The apostle only saw in the giving of the law a mediated action by God toward man.²

Perhaps we will be more qualified to understand the complexities of this debate after paying close attention to two recent studies on the *στοιχεῖα* problem.

After a survey of pre-Christian literature, Cramer raises objections to Dibelius' definition of "Elementargeister" and "Goetter" for the term *στοιχεῖα*.³ According to Cramer, only a small number of early texts can be called upon by anyone wishing to document explicit parallels for this interpretation. He suggests that in popular belief the planets came to be respected as bearers of mysterious power. It is this latter, more general sense that might have been current in Paul's day but there is no proof of this.⁴

In rejecting the "mythological interpretation" of Dibelius and Everling, Cramer maintains that the word *κόσμος* makes the Pauline *στοιχεῖα* usage meaningful. In Paul the term *κόσμος* is employed alternately with *αἶών* and not only refers to the created

¹Blaeser says that the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* are not "...Gesetzengel als Mächte die hinter dem Gesetze stehen und ueber die Beobachtung des Gesetzes zu wachen haben.", Blaeser, *op. cit.*, p. 58, cf., p. 49; Oepke, *op. cit.*, pp. 82f.; Dehn, *op. cit.*, p. 121; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul, The Theology of the Apostle in the light of Jewish religious History*, trans. Harold Knight (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), pp. 182f.

²Wilhelm Siebert, "Studie ueber Gal. 3, 20 und 4, 4," *Neu kirchliche Zeitschrift, Sonderheft* (1904), pp. 724f.

³A. W. Cramer, *Stoicheia Tou Kosmou*, Interpretatie van een nieuwtestamentische Term (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1961), p. 60.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 157f.

world but more usually connotes the negative idea of this aeon's lostness.¹

Cramer, however, retreats from the full cosmic impact of the apostle's theology by declaring that the slavery to these στοιχεῖα represents the religious and moral "habitus" of man before the coming of Christ.²

Delling takes a similar approach in a recent article in Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch. He admits that the Stoics had the idea of an interrelationship between the elements and the activities of men but does not feel that these στοιχεῖα were personified. In Philo we have a personification expressed but these references cannot signify personal spirits in stars. It was not until the second century after Christ that we have proof for defining τὰ στοιχεῖα as "star spirits."³ Yet, Delling does balance this assertion with the following statement: "Spezifisch astrologische Belege lassen es fuer moeglich halten dass es dazu ueber die Bdtg. 'Zeichen' gekommen ist (στοιχεῖα dann = 'Schicksalszeichen')." ⁴ The fact that in later times στοιχεῖα came to indicate star spirits permits the possible meaning of "Geistwesen"

¹Ibid., pp. 62f.

²Ibid., pp. 162f.

³For an excellent discussion of the dates and textual sources cf., Josef Blinzler, "Lexikalisches zu dem Terminus τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου bei Paulus," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, 18, II (Romae: E. Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1963), pp. 429f.

⁴Gerhard Delling, article στοιχεῖον, TWNT, VII, p. 681.

for στοιχεῖα .¹ In Ethiopic Enoch, remarks Delling, the worship of heavenly bodies as gods was considered a sign of the end of the aeon.² He believes that in Galatians iv 3, 9 Paul employs στοιχεῖα not "astrologisch" but "allgemeinen kosmologische."³ The connection of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου with the law makes impossible for Delling the two definitions of "Urstoffe" and "Gestirne" for στοιχεῖα .⁴ Delling realizes the difficult problem exhibited by even this implied relationship of the στοιχεῖα with the "Geisternaechte." One can only say for certain:

Gl 4, 1-11 ist deutlich durch eine Reihe von parallelen Gegensatzpaaren bestimmt: Unmuendiger - Sohn, Sklave - Erbe, Knechtschaft - Loskauf; die scharf markierte Wende bezeichnet v. 4. Was vor lag gehoert zur vergangenen Welt und damit zu den στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου .⁵

"This world" negatively qualifies στοιχεῖα as is also the case with σοφία τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτου and σοφία τοῦ κόσμου τοῦτου .⁶ Delling concludes that being under the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου involves a slavery to the pre-Christian aeon. This phrase designates "...das, worauf die Existenz dieser Welt beruht und was auch das Sein des Menschen ausmacht."⁷

¹ Lumpe insists however: "Die Vorstellung, dass die Elementum beseelt und belebt sind, ist alt...Von der hellenist. Zeit an dient das Wort στοιχεῖα , bzw. 'elementum' vielfach aber auch direkt zur Bezeichnung der Elementum repraesentierenden Gottheiten oder Geister." A. Lumpe, article "Elementum," Reallexikon fuer Antike und Christentum, VI (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1959), pp. 1980f.

² Ethiopic Enoch LXXX. 7.

³ Delling, op. cit., p. 683.

⁴ Ibid., p. 684.

⁵ Ibid., p. 685.

⁶ I Cor. i. 20; iii. 19.

⁷ Delling, op. cit., p. 685.

The more complex questions will require detailed treatment in our later exegetical section. However, in spite of recent objections raised by Cramer and Delling, they do not contradict the consensus of almost all modern interpreters that the *στοιχεῖα* are to be considered as some kind of hostile spirit powers who are part of the temporary world of man.

Summary and Conclusions.---In the early exegesis, the law was not considered evil but merely powerless because mankind, weakened by sensual and fleshly desires, could not fulfill the demands of the Torah. According to this interpretation, the law is not the "last word" to meet man's dilemma of being victimized by sin.

In more modern times, however, exegetes have pointed out a more radical and negative aspect of the Pauline *νόμος* doctrine. The powerlessness of the law involves more than man's sensuality and failure to fulfill its individual commands. In fact, even the Jewish zeal and passion for the good and holy law, when it attempts to make claims for a righteousness of one's own, can be conscripted by the evil forces of sin to usher in man's destruction. It is the very nature of the demonic to draw its strength from converting to its own purposes the good and the holy. The religion of the law, according to modern Pauline scholars, does not take a realistic view of sin's demonic control over man. The law incites the sinful *ἐπιθυμία*. But this is not to be understood in a moralistic sense. Even in the religious "desire" to obtain holiness and goodness is the latent danger of wishing to secure righteousness as a possession. This throws man out of relationship with God.

In that it is holy and at the same time the commissioned accuser, the law only serves to underline the radical lostness of

sinful man, his isolation and separation from God. The law is ineffective against the power of sin because of the weakness of the flesh. Man is therefore left exposed and vulnerable in the face of evil forces. Paul gives this meaning to the law as he looks backward through the eyes of faith at what he now comprehends as the post-messianic situation.

The only consistent explanation offered by exegetes which adequately describes this condition of radical lostness was found in the Pauline usage of late Jewish apocalyptic and aeon theology.

The interpretation of τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου has been the subject of a lively debate which continues up to the present time. The early scholars avoided a mythological interpretation, claiming that στοιχεῖα was to be interpreted in a physical sense as the basic stuff out of which the world is constructed. An ethical meaning for Gal. iv. 3, 9 such as "religious beginnings" or "elementary instruction" also made no room for seeing the στοιχεῖα as demonic powers. Among those who held to this latter ethical interpretation should be mentioned Neander, Zahn, Cremer, Kurze, F. C. Baur, H. A. W. Meyer, Schaefer, Woerner, Ewald, Sieffert, Haeuser, Prats, Fernanc, Lightfoot, Burton, Buzy, Lagrange, Reuss and Strack-Billerbeck.

It is the consensus of more modern New Testament scholarship, however, that the phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου designates some kind of spiritual power in the general category of demons or angels. In addition to those already discussed earlier in this chapter, we should name the following who espoused this position: Hilgenfield, Holsten, Kloepper, Lipsius, Spitta, Haupt, Deissmann, Lietzmann, Bousset, Lohmeyer, Steinmann, Knabenbauer, Tiellmann, Meinertz, Schauf, Bonnard, Duncan, Toussaint, Loisy, Masson, Geffcken and A. Dieterich. Some

objections have been raised by Cramer and Delling to identifying the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου with "star spirits." These dissenting voices, however, do not in any way contradict the view that the στοιχεῖα were spiritual powers. They only confirm that it was not until the second century A.D. that we have definite proof of such a connection. Both scholars affirmed the pre-Christian, implicit interrelationship between the planets and the fortunes of mankind.

Whether or not we accept that the angels of Gal iii. 19 and the στοιχεῖα of iv. 3, 9 are the same will be a matter for discussion in later exegesis. However we come out on this question, it does not alter the fact that the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου designate hostile spiritual powers and probably refer to the ancient mystical belief that the planets controlled the fate of man.

Therefore we are justified, through this history of scholarship, with the following conclusion which is considered the best explanation accounting for the contradictory good and evil aspects of the Pauline νόμος doctrine: The law is in itself neither evil nor demonic. In the death of Christ Paul saw a cosmic event, the shift of the aeons. The aeon of law is weakness; that of gospel is power. To return to existence under law would again render us vulnerable to demonic powers of the past aeon from which, through the atonement of Christ, we have now been set free.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEMONIC NATURE OF SIN:

A HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

Our intention in this chapter is to ask whether the presence of mythical language in the Pauline letters might lead to the assumption that sin is to be understood as a demonic power.

The dilemma of speaking about sin.---Dibelius was the first to point out that sin in Paul is not only personified but "...ein in Menschen wohnender Daemon heisst."¹ Other scholars preferred to say that here we confront only rhetorical language and poetic imagery. However, as Dibelius insists, we must bear in mind that "...ist auch hier die Grenze zwischen Bild und Wirklichkeit nicht immer mit Sicherheit festzulegen."² We must attempt our study realizing full well the difficulties of this ambiguity.

We should also notice with the words of Markus Barth that speaking of sin "can properly be done only in prayer to God."³ Because we sin directly against God, our sin is properly known only before Him.⁴ Vogel adds in similar words:

¹Dibelius, op. cit., p. 123. Cf., supra, p. 17, n.3.

²Ibid., p. 122.

³Markus Barth, "Speaking of Sin," SJT, VIII (1955), p. 294.

⁴Cf., Ps. li. 4.

Es ist also eine gefaehrliche Sache, nach der Suende zu fragen. Darueber zu diskutieren und zu disputieren, wie wir Theologen es mit der uns eignenden Kaltschnaeuzigkeit in einem unendlichen Gerede mit der Wahrheit zu halten pflegen, mag nicht weiter riskant erscheinen.¹

According to Vogel, in our discussion of sin, we can only hope for a "Konfrontation mit der Wahrheit, in der Gott selber dem Suender sagt, was es um seine Suende und um ihn selbst in seinem Suender-Sein ist."² Vogel continues to state that we can understand the Pauline doctrine of sin only by a theology of the cross and within the context of the apostle's entire atonement-theology. When sin is placed upon the "Sinless One," says Vogel, then only are we allowed to comprehend vividly all of the terrible realities of man's evil. Therefore, we cannot in complete objectivity analyze the Pauline doctrine of sin because:

Dem Suender muss die Suende undurchsichtig bleiben. Sie kann nur in Undurchsichtigkeit ihre Macht ausueben. Der Mensch auf der Flucht vor Gott muss sich in eine daemonische Verschlossenheit zurueckziehen.³

Thielicke also utters a similar warning:

Die Realitaet des Daemonischen kann mit natuerlichen Augen nicht wahrgenommen werden. Denn diese natuerlichen Augen sind selber verfinstert, und zwar eben von der daemonischen Macht her verfinstert...Es ist ein Geheimnis der Suende, dass sie sich selbst nicht sehen kann, sondern nur im Licht Gottes offenbar wird.⁴

Sin has a demonic insensitizing effect upon man which makes it nearly impossible for him to see the full dimension of its power. Sin is,

¹Heinrich Vogel, "Die Suende im biblischen Verstaendnis," EvTh, XIX (1959), p. 441.

²Ibid., p. 441.

³Ibid., p. 442.

⁴Thielicke, Fragen des Christentums an die moderne Welt, p. 173

like a shadow, a "Relationsbegriff" which can only be seen when light is cast upon the scene. Our warfare is not against "flesh and blood." The demonic is a "power of the air," elusive, "etwas uns atmosphaerisch."¹ The imagery of a "realm of darkness" is therefore most appropriate: "Hier ist die atmosphaerische Unfuehlbarkeit sozusagen in die optische Unsichtbarkeit uebersetzt...Im Dunkeln aber sieht alles entstellt aus und man findet nichts."² Thielicke concludes that we are not able to "explain" but only to "describe" the workings of demonic power.

Stalder agrees that sin often eludes the grasp of those who would attempt to discuss it: "Jede Theorie, welche das Wie der Wirkung der Suende erklaren moechte, waere falsch, weil die Suende, wie wir schon sagten, das voellig Unerklaerliche ist."³

This quality of the mysterious which surrounds the subject of sin must be understood and appreciated. In fact, it is this characteristic which, among other things, leads us to suspect a vital connection between sin and the demonic sphere. Brunner's words then are relevant for our comprehension of the Pauline doctrine of sin: "It is of the essence of the power of darkness that it does not reveal itself, although it manifests itself!"⁴

Throughout our study of Pauline doctrine we must respect this dilemma in speaking of sin.

¹Ibid., p. 190

²Ibid., p. 191.

³Kurt Stalder, Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus (Zuerich: EVZ Verlag, 1962), p. 302.

⁴Emil Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics, II, trans. Olive Wyon (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952), p. 143.

The moralistic interpretations of earlier scholarship.---As

we noticed with $\sigma\lambda\mu\gamma$, early scholarship was under a strong influence of Augustinian presuppositions. For this reason, here in our chapter we should not be too surprised to find paraphrased in this early period the words "sensuality" or "worldliness" to describe sin. Mackintosh is an example of those who give to the Pauline doctrine of sin this Augustinian ethical tone.¹ On other occasions sin is described as playing the role of defiling the land or the people and it takes on the meaning of "uncleanness."² The presentation of Ritschl had a significant influence over subsequent scholarship and is a view similar to the above in that it advanced a subjective and moralistic interpretation of sin. Ritschl defined sin, in contrast to Augustinianism, as "the contrary of the highest moral good."³ According to Ritschl, sin represents the evil conduct of man which grows through the influence of one person's sin upon another until the strength of what he calls a "kingdom of sin" is achieved. Althaus, for one, opposed this explanation because it would understand sin as a "geschichtliche und soziale Macht"⁴

¹Robert Mackintosh, Christianity and Sin (London: Duckworth and Co., 1913), pp. 176f., et passim. Cf., also this same viewpoint in James Denney, The Atonement and the Modern Mind (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1903), pp. 76f., et passim. Elsewhere he defines sin as "unfaithfulness to the moral ideal," James Denney, The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918), p. 223, et passim; F. R. Tennant, The Concept of Sin (Cambridge: The University Press, 1912), pp. 47 ff., et passim; C. Ryder Smith, The Biblical Doctrine of Sin (London: The Epworth Press, 1953), pp. 147f., et passim.

²A. Buechler, Studies in Sin and Atonement (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 212ff.

³Albrecht Ritschl, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, trans. From 3rd ed. by H.R. Mackintosh (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1900), pp. 329f.

⁴Paul Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, Lehrbuch der Dogmatik (Guetersloh: Carl Bertelsmann Verlag, 1958), p. 371.

instead of as a "persoenlicher, daemonischer Macht,"¹ the definition which Althaus preferred.

During this earlier generation, some scholars defined sin as man's "moral weakness."² Sin is the result of human failure in the face of the "Zwiespalt von Wollen und Vollbringen."³ Mackintosh, therefore, explained that Paul held to such a strong concept of sin because: "He struggled and struggled only to fail."⁴

In analogous terminology, Mueller regarded sin as: "The presence of an element of disturbance and discord in a sphere where the demand for harmony and unity is felt with peculiar emphasis."⁵ The conquest of sin was spoken of as a "definite duty" or "moral obligation" of man.⁶ Sin was taken in a subjective sense as that which man does, his "willful turning away from God."⁷ Even more recently we may encounter this understanding of sin, not unlike 19th century liberalism, which declares that bondage to sin comes about because

¹Ibid., p. 388

²Cf., supra, p. 125, n. 1.

³Paul Wernle, Der Christ und die Suende bei Paulus (Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1897), p. 5.

⁴Robert Mackintosh, "The Roots of St. Paul's Doctrine of Sin," The Expositor, V (1913), p. 446.

⁵Julius Mueller, The Christian Doctrine of Sin, I, trans. from 5th ed. by William Urwick (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1877), p. 29.

⁶Ibid., p. 37.

⁷Ibid., p. 131.

"...in general, a man's evil inclinations prove stronger than his good will."¹

The findings of modern New Testament scholarship and the realities of history in our generation have exposed the complete naïveté of these subjective and moralistic definitions of sin. The new interpretation of Romans vii, which we have already discussed, did much to change this older idea of sin. However, more than anything else, it would seem that the events of this century have challenged theologians to consider again the possible demonic dimensions of sin. According to Brunner, the sphere of the powers of darkness, once placed at the fringe of New Testament scholarship, deserves today our most careful attention:

A generation which has produced two World Wars, and a totalitarian state with all its horrors, has very little cause to designate the Middle Ages as 'dark'...On the contrary, it is just because our generation has experienced such diabolical wickedness that many people have abandoned their former 'enlightened' objection to the existence of a 'power of darkness!...'²

Jaspers also is representative of this new mood of modern times which recognizes a deeper level of human evil and sin. He insists that Satanic power is a fact of life; "Will ich in der Welt leben und in der Welt handeln, muss ich auch mit dem Teufel umgehen."³ W. Manson states that when we look at history what we see is the

¹David Cox, Jung and St. Paul (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1959), p. 150. Sin is defined in general terms as "man's failure to do what is according to the will of God..." p. 159.

²Brunner, op. cit., p. 135.

³Karl Jaspers, Der philosophische Glaube angesichts der Offenbarung (Muenchen: R. Piper Verlag, 1962), p. 331.

"irrational and the mad...The face that looks through at us is akin often to the insane."¹

The "demonic" interpretations of modern scholarship.---Scholars have been quick to point out the significance of the singular ἁμαρτία which appears in Paul as opposed to the plural form occurring elsewhere in the New Testament.² It is generally agreed that the plural form is used to refer to single acts of sin or particular sins, whereas in Paul the singular form emphasizes the universality of sin as a principle of existence and an active force in the disruption of the κόσμος .

Paul's doctrine, in proclaiming the universality of sin, seems more radical than that normally encountered in Judaism.³ Sin for Paul was not understood in terms of single acts but as description of a state of existence,⁴ being thrown out of relationship with God and

¹W. Manson, op. cit., p. 16. Cf., supra, p. 30, n. 6.

²Cf., Gottfried Quell, et al., "Sin," Bible Key Words from Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1951), pp. 49f., 71f.

³Cone states that Paul's view of sin was opposed to that of traditional Judaism: "For the Jewish theology maintained not only the possibility of sinlessness in man, but also that some men were actually without sin, for example, the patriarchs, Elijah, and Hezekiah." Orello Cone, "The Pauline Doctrine of Sin," The American Journal of Theology, II (1898), p. 242.

⁴W. Kuenneth says regarding sin that "...ihr Wesen niemals in empirischen, quantitativen Bestimmungen erfasst werden kann, es ist durchaus qualitaetiver Art." W. Kuenneth, Die Lehre von der Suende (Guetersloh: Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1927), p. 31. Hempel also declares that the existence of God's people is endangered when they sin. They might "cease to be." Joh. Hempel, "Suende und Offenbarung nach alt -und neutestamentlicher Anschauung," ZSyTh, X (1932), p. 174.

therefore in an exposed position before the powers of the demonic world.

Vogel sees this essential insight: "Es geht dann nicht nur um einzelne Suende, wie es das moralische Selbstverstaendnis waehnen moechte, sondern um die Existenz des ganzen Menschen in der Suende, unter der Suende."¹

From about 1930 onwards, Aulén, Althaus, Heim and others participated in a debate on the atonement-theology of Paul which did much to draw attention to the cosmic emphasis of the apostle's doctrine of sin. According to Aulén:

Das hauptthema des Versohnungsgedankens der alten Kirche ist 'Christus Victor', Christus als der Bekaempfer und Besieger der Maechte des Verderbens. Diese Maechte sind in der alten Kirche vor allem Suende, Tod und Teufel.²

Since that time, others have illustrated the truth of Aulén's original position at least in so far as they consider the mythical language of warfare against the enemies of God to play a meaningful part in the Pauline teaching of the atonement.³ Of course there can be little doubt that sin, especially in such passages as Romans vi and vii, is personified by Paul. However, the consensus of opinion emerging from these discussions was that Paul was not only employing vivid imagery but expressing in this literary form the truth of sin's demonic power.

¹Vogel, op. cit., p. 444.

²Gustaf Aulén, "Die drei Haupttypen des christlichen Versohnungsgedankens," ZSyTh, VIII (1930), p. 505.

³Cf., Kaesemann, ZThK, LIV (1957), pp. 13f. C. K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: SPCK, 1947), p. 52; Markus Barth, op. cit., p. 295; P. Feine, "Der Ursprung der Suende nach Paulus," Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift, X (1899), p. 787; Joseph Herkenrath, "Suende zum Tod," Aus Theologie und Philosophie, festschrift fuer Fritz Tillmann (Duesseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1950), p. 133.; Th. Barosse, "Death and Sin in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XV (1953), p. 438.

Dibelius, whom we have already mentioned, was therefore not alone in contending that sin is to be equated with a demon which takes possession of man.¹ It is difficult for us to find explicit connections between sin and the demonic powers mainly because little consistency exists in the Jewish teachings on demonology. We may mention the *ἐμάρται χόβνια* of the Paris Magical Papyrus which were understood, according to Lietzmann, as "Unterweltsgoettheiten."² There are also indications in Jewish tradition that a man's sin put him under the control of demonic powers. According to Strack-Billerbeck, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, "Suende und Leidenschaft auf einen Daemonen als Urheber zurueckfuehrt wird..."³ Bloomfield gives evidence of sin being under the control of astral demons. He admits that much in the sources is obscure but continues to say that we can yet assume a realm of the "...aereae potestates who would claim as their own the sinner of a particular sin."⁴

These explicit statements regarding the union between sin and the demonic world are in themselves unconvincing. Most scholars insisting upon the demonic nature of sin found justification for their stand

¹Cf., Otto Kuss, "Exkurs: Suende und Tod, Erbtod und Erbsuende," *op. cit.*, pp. 244f. Cf., *supra*, p. 73, n. 2. Michel, "Exkurs: Die Herrschaft der Suende und der Gnade," *Der Brief an die Roemer* (12. Auflage Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 144f.; Ernst Kinder, *Die Erbsuende* (Stuttgart: Schwabenverlag, 1959), pp. 37f.; Kaesemann, "Roemer 6, 19-23," *EVuB* (2 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 263f.; Julius Gross, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsuendendogmas* (Muenchen: Ernst Reinhardt Verlag, 1960), p. 55.

²Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Cf., *supra*, p. 82, n. 3.

³St-B, "Exkurs: Zur altjuedischen Daemonologie," p. 503.

⁴Morton Bloomfield, "The Origin of the Concept of the Seven Cardinal Sins," *HTR*, XXXII (1940), p. 125.

by comparing similarities between what both demons and sin do to man.

Lohmeyer's work may serve as an example of a scholarship displeased with the moralistic definitions of earlier research which would see in the Pauline doctrine of sin only the evil deeds which man does. We recall Lohmeyer's statement earlier that there is more to the apostle's doctrine than this. Sin is a demonic power, "...nicht der Mensch wirkt sie, sondern sie wirkt in ihm."¹ The article on ἁμαρτία in Kittel's Woerterbuch suggests that for Paul sin is the real demonic power and all the references to evil spirits and Satan are meant to verify this other worldly quality of ἁμαρτία.² Grundmann parallels the salvation from the mighty powers of Egypt³ with Christ's "Rettung aus der satanischen Herrschaft der Suende..."⁴

Koeberle finds in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs that evil spirits take up dwelling in man and are the direct cause of sin: "Von Beliar stammen die sieben boesen Geister in Menschen, Test. I, 2, die ihn bestaendig zur Suende in allen ihren Formen...reizen."⁵

¹Cf., supra, p. 53. Althaus noticed that where one would usually expect Satan to appear in the language of Paul, as for example in Romans vi and vii, the apostle refers to sin. P. Althaus, "Das 'Kreuz und der Boese,'" ZSyTh, XV (1938), pp. 170f.

²Quell, et al., op. cit., p. 80

³Cf., A. Jeremias' statement: "Im Sinn des altorientalischen Mythos ist Aegypten, das Suedland, die Unterwelt." A. Jeremias, op. cit., p. 56. Cf., supra, p. 16, n. 2. Knox says that Egypt represents a "permanent type of evil." W. L. Knox, St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles (Cambridge: The University Press 1939), pp. 97f.

⁴Walter Grundmann, op. cit., p. 77. Cf., supra, p. 25, n. 2.

⁵Justus Koeberle, Suende und Gnade im religioesen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum (Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), p. 559.

These evil spirits were animistic conceptions probably originating from Babylonian theology "...wonach der Geist ein persoenliches Machtwesen ist, das von dem Menschen Besitz nimmt, so dass sein eigenes Ich durch das des fremden boesen oder guten Geistes verdraengt wird."¹

In Paul, sin performs many functions of a demonic power. Sin appears on the scene as a person, comes to life, dwells in man, makes him a member of "this world" of evil flesh, incites passions and lust, deceives, enslaves and destroys. What sin does to man and the world deserves serious examination for here modern New Testament scholarship has united in the recognition of a strong demonic essence for the Pauline doctrine of sin.

However, before we begin a detailed comparison between the activities of demons and sin, we should first of all appreciate why, in some theological circles, we come upon a reluctance to acknowledge the demonic qualities of sin.

Two views persist, both of which, taken in themselves, represent unfortunate alternatives. Paul does not explain evil as if it were a tragic fate. This would release man from the responsibility of choice.² On the other hand, the purely moral theory that evil has no other origin than the free will of man is unfaithful to the deterministic-apocalyptic emphasis of Paul.

In order to remain steadfast to Pauline theology, we must admit, for our study of the demonic power of sin, some truth in both positions.

¹Ibid., p. 560.

²Despite much emphasis upon demons, the rabbis were careful to say that it is not an evil spirit but: "Eure Suende sind es, die zwischen euch und eurem Gott scheiden." St-B, "Exkurs: Altjuedischen Daemonologie," p. 503.

Karl Barth therefore can accentuate both sides of this question:
"It is sin that acts, sin that performs, and to sin that the 'success' belongs. And yet, this does not mean that I am, in fact, released from all responsibility."¹

Man loses his freedom to choose by choosing. He comes under the domination of sin by sinning. "Weil ich die Suende in mir haben gebe ich dem Diabolos ein Recht auf mich."² The kingdom of sin increases its rule as man, through his sin, places himself at the disposal of demonic powers. We have a precedent for this idea in Qumran concerning which Kuhn states: "Der Kampf der beiden Mächte [light and darkness] in der Welt vollzieht sich jeweils durch das entweder rechthandeln oder Suendetun der Menschen."³ Fuchs also observes that: "Dennoch ist der Suender infolge der Suende unter Zwang geraten."⁴

Stalder endorses our contention that though man is definitely responsible for choosing sin, his sin can become a demonic power which robs him of this very freedom of choice:

Es ist aber zu beachten, dass nach Roem 5, 12 die Suende ihre Macht bei uns nur entfalten kann, sofern wir ihr durch unsere Tat in unserem Leben Raum geben. Die Suende kommt durch die Suende als daemonische Macht verstanden⁵, die Ausser uns ist, und das zweitemal als unsere boese Tat.

¹Karl Barth, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. from the 6th ed. by Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: The University Press, 1933), p. 259.

²Thielicke, Fragen des Christentums an die moderne Welt, p. 178.

³Karl George Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," p. 303. "Demons are harmful to men, and become more harmful to those who sin." (Gen. R. 23, 6; 14, 6; Ber. 5a.) Roy Stewart, op. cit., p. 61. Kuhn, art. in Stendahl, op. cit., pp. 104f.; St-B, "Exkurs: Altjuedischen Daemonologie," pp. 521f.

⁴Ernst Fuchs, ZThK, LIX (1962), p. 303.

⁵Stalder, op. cit., pp. 215f.

When man is controlled by his sin, he stands under the power of darkness. The situation, however, is never the opposite, i.e. that the power of darkness is the original cause of sin.

Sin as a supra-personal agent.---Sin is presented by Paul as a supra-personal agent. Sin has come into the world, holds a dominion, works its power, keeps men in bondage, revives in man, slays, deceives, and does the wrong which the better "ego" resists.

Althaus explains how more is involved in Paul than the mere exercise of poetic language:

Der uebermenschliche Wille tritt an uns auch ohne menschliche Vermittlung heran und nimmt unseren Willen in Anspruch. Daher ist es nicht zeitbedingte, fuer uns vergangene Mythologie, sondern einfacher Ausdruck erfahrener Wirklichkeit der Suende, wenn Paulus, wie schon die juedische Tradition vor ihm, von der Suende als einer persoenlicher Macht redet.

Paul employs the imagery of kingly rule in his description of sin. Freundorfer declares that the apostle's teaching on sin includes "...das Ganze aller gottfeindlichen sittlichen Kraefte, zusammengefasst in der Personifikation der 'Koenigen Suende.'"² Kaesemann states also that by his use of Adam typology Paul wished to portray a universal realm of this kingdom of sin: "Seit oder mit Adams Tat ist die Suende eine den ganzen Kosmos bestimmende Macht."³

For Paul the personification of sin appears in those contexts where one would usually expect to find mentioned the power of Satan.

¹ Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, p. 388.

² Joseph Freundorfer, Erbsuende und Erbtod beim apostel Paulus, (Muenster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927), p. 221.

³ Kaesemann, Leib und Leib Christi, p. 109.

As depicted in Pauline theology, the cosmic struggle exists not between God and Satan but between God and the power of sin.¹ In rabbinic Judaism, according to R. A. Stewart, three ideas of the devil were presented all of which offer to us an interesting parallel to the Pauline doctrine of sin: (1) The spoiler, (2) the seducer, accuser, destroyer, and (3) the subjective force living in man.²

Lohmeyer argues forcefully that Paul presents sin as a Satan-substitute. Satan is not spoken of in Paul as a "Herr der Hoelle" and even "die Herrschaft ueber diese Welt nicht eindeutig dem Teufel gehoert" but belongs to sin.³ It is sin which destroys, sin and not Satan which leads to death and damnation. Lohmeyer considers that it is important that Paul "...die Suende zur Weltherrscherin macht, und nur einmal von dem Gott dieser Welt ein Wort faellt."⁴ Althaus is in agreement with Lohmeyer when he states that: "Er [Paul] nennt in seinen Hauptkapiteln (Roem. 6 und 7) den Satan nicht -und redet doch von ihm, eben indem er von der Suende als persoenerlicher, daemonischer Macht spricht."⁵ Althaus supplies a most significant point for our study in suggesting that Paul seems to be doing his own "demythologizing" of the Jewish traditions of demonic power and absorbing them into his doctrine of sin: "Paulus gibt nicht ueberlieferte Spekulation weiter, sondern

¹D. de Zwaan, "Paulinische Weltanschauung," ZSyTh, VIII (1930), pp. 558f.; Fuchs, Freiheit des Glaubens, p. 69.

²R. A. Stewart, op. cit., pp. 88f.

³Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), p. 55.

⁴Ibid., p. 16. Althaus terms sin "eine andere Macht als Gott," ZSyTh, XVI (1938), p. 172.

⁵Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, p. 388.

spricht das aus, was der Mensch an der Suende erlebt von uebermenschlicher Willenswirklichkeit."¹

Lohmeyer's words may be taken as representative of the present day consensus on the Pauline teaching of sin:

...Paulus das Wort ἁμαρτία fast immer absolut gebraucht, d.h. ohne einen Genetiv oder eine genetivartige Wendung, die den Wirker und Traeger der Suende bezeichnete... Paulus bezeichnet also mit ἁμαρτία zunaechst nicht Verfehlungen gegen eine Norm, die Menschen wirken oder denken, sondern eine gegenstaendliches Etwas, das seine Geltung und Wirklichkeit auch abgeloeest von diesen willentlichen Taten bewahrt...Der Begriff ἁμαρτία ist also nicht in menschlichen Herzen, im Denken oder Wollen allein moeglich sondern lebt gleichsam ueber ihnen in einer Sphaere von eigentuemlicher Wirklichkeit.²

Sin and the עֲרֵךְ עֲשֵׂה.---We must remember, our previous conclusion that there is only a relative value to be gained by studying this ambiguous rabbinic doctrine of the עֲרֵךְ עֲשֵׂה; and proceed with caution in our assessment of any light it sheds upon the Pauline teaching of sin.³ However, in those occurrences where precise parallelism might be admitted, we find it helpful to examine the possible consequences for our question of sin's demonic nature.

The עֲרֵךְ עֲשֵׂה in rabbinic theology may be labelled the "Herr der Welt,"⁴ the "spoiler," "enemy," and "strange god."⁵

¹Ibid., p. 388.; cf., also Althaus, ZSyTh, XVI (1938), p. 172.

²Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), pp. 26f.

³Cf., the statement by Mackintosh: "The Jewish doctrine of the 'Yetzer' is at its best highly ambiguous." Robert Mackintosh, Christianity and Sin, p. 88; S. Cohen, op. cit., p. 304.

⁴St-B, "Exkurs: Der gute und der boese Trieb," p. 472.; cf., Noack, op. cit., p. 154, supra, p. 21, n. 1.

⁵R. A. Stewart, op. cit., p. 243.

The **יצר הרע** may be equated with Satan and the angel of death;¹ it dwells in man and can enslave him.² The **יצר הרע** is to the body what "...leaven is to the dough - a fermenting impelling power,"³ a "quasi-external agency,"⁴ or "dunkle Macht der Suende."⁵ In at least one rabbinic tradition it is known that Satan kindles the **יצר הרע**.⁶ Submission to one's **יצר הרע** meant coming under the lordship of the Devil.⁷ All of this illustrates the interrelationship of the **יצר הרע**, sin and the demonic powers in Jewish theology.

Once man submits to his **יצר הרע**, the growing power of sin reaches a climax described in terms of a demonic servitude. The **יצר הרע** is a "cobweb which becomes a cable;"⁸ it appears first to man as a modest traveller, [הלך], then as a welcome guest, [אורח], and finally as master of the house [אדון].⁹

¹St-B, "Exkurs: Der gute und der boese Trieb," p. 467.; Schechter, op. cit., p. 252; R. A. Stewart, op. cit., p. 88.; Foerster, art. "συναγωγὴ", TWNT, VII, p. 153.

²Porter, op. cit., p. 111.

³Cone, op. cit., p. 246

⁴Schechter, op. cit., p. 263.

⁵Freundorfer, op. cit., p. 101.

⁶Ludwig Blau, art. "Satan," The Jewish Encyclopedia, XI (New York: Funck and Wagnalls, 1905), col. 70.

⁷Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," p. 301.

⁸Cf. Sukk. 52a.; Sanh. 99b.; Gen R. 22,6; St-B, "Exkurs: Der gute und der boese Trieb," p. 472.

⁹Ibid., p. 472.; cf. Schechter, op. cit., p. 248.

Sin may take possession of man as a demon does and is certainly to be understood as more than that which "dwells in him, present in his carnal nature."¹ Stalder thus rightly remarks that: "Es ist eine Verharmlosung der Suende, zu meinen, sie sei nur 'das Boese in uns,' der boese Trieb und das ungeordnete, verkehrte Begehren."²

If it obtains mastery over man the **יצר הרע** becomes a power of destruction and death. The **יצר הרע** gains control until at last it tells him to worship other gods and man submits and is led to death.³ Sin leads to further sin until there is a point of no return, a demonic enslavement. Through our love of sin we separate ourselves from God, allow the setting up of another divinity, an idolatry, and we construct with our deeds a counter kingdom of Satanic power.

Paul seems to be saying the same thing about sin as we notice in the rabbinic doctrine of the **יצר הרע**. Despite the dramatic symbolism, however, we have no grounds to assume that the **יצר הרע** or Satan is the source of sin. Man remains the responsible agent for his acts. But even in Jewish theology, where the doctrine of man's accountability is always asserted, we may notice that man's choosing may set up a demonic process which results in a bondage to the powers of darkness.

¹Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans (London: SCM Press, 1952), p. 300.

²Stalder, op. cit., p. 276.

³Bab. Shab. 105b.; Ab. 4. 2; Sifre Numb. 112.; cf., Kurt Galling, art. "Suende und Schuld," RGG, VI (dritte Auflage), col. 483.

Sin as the participation in a counter kingdom.---Mankind is not only disobedient; his action represents a "Feindschaft wider Gott."¹ God encounters in man what Heim designates as a "satanic will which rebels against the creator."² This Satanic power of rebellion emerges as a "hatred of God,"³ a "hatred of grace,"⁴ and a "positive counter-action against God."⁵ It is an act of rebellion, not merely man's moral weakness. This is why scholarship is justified in its dissatisfaction with the moralistic interpretations which understood sin in its Greek meaning as sensuality, the spirit not being able to conquer the material. Sin is not merely weakness and sensuality but "defiance, rebellion."⁶

Man's spirit of revolution may also be understood as his "will-to-power"⁷ or the determination "to live from one's self rather than from God."⁸

¹Walter Grundmann, "Die Uebermacht der Gnade: Eine Studie zur Theologie des Paulus," NT, II (1958), p. 52.

²Karl Heim, Jesus the World's Perfecter, p. 21.

³Ibid., p. 22.

⁴Vogel, op. cit., p. 446.

⁵Heim, Jesus the World's Perfecter, p. 60.

⁶Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics, II, p. 92.; cf., Emil Brunner, Man in Revolt, A Christian Anthropology, trans. Olive Wyon (London: R. T. S. Lutterworth Press, 1939), p. 116; Quell, et al., op. cit., pp. 10f.

⁷Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, I Human Nature (London: Nisbet and Co., 1941), pp. 190f.

⁸Bultmann, NTT, II, pp. 232, et passim.

Vogel explains this rebellion as the "Vergoetzung der kreatuerlichen Welt, die Selbstvergoetzung des Menschen, der sein will wie Gott."¹ Man in his unbelief and trust in himself stands defiantly in a positio contra Deum.² The rebellion of the Devil and the sin of man are in a sense identical. They comprise an active and hostile "effort to transcend his proper state and become like God."³

Man needs redemption because he has become God's enemy. Grundmann explains that Paul, as a direct result of his understanding of Christ, advanced a most radical understanding of sin: "Von dieser Stunde an stand ihm fest, dass die Suende nicht nur Verletzung der goettlichen Majestaet ist - soweit kam der Jude auch - sondern dass sie aktive Feindschaft ist."⁴

According to Pauline theology, to be an "enemy" of God may be equated with being in the camp of the demonic "goettfeindlichen Maechte." This idea is similar to what is found in Matthew xiii. 24ff. where ὁ ἐχθρὸς is clearly a "Bezeichnung des Teufels."⁵

In speaking of sin as participating in a counter-kingdom we must clearly realize that Satan is the "Geschoepf Gottes und nicht Gegengott."⁶ Satan always remains "Goettes Tuefel."⁷ Therefore,

¹Vogel, op. cit., p. 446.

²Ibid., p. 446.

³Niebuhr, op. cit., pp. 190f.

⁴Grundmann, ZNW, XXXIII (1933), p. 56.

⁵Foerster, art. ἐχθρὸς, ἐχθρᾶ TWNT, II, pp. 813f.

⁶Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, p. 393.

⁷Thielicke, Fragen des Christentums an die moderne Welt, p. 174.

regardless of the mythical language and the idea of a counter kingdom in Paul, we are not permitted to speak of an absolute dualism. The kingdom of evil describes an actuality, a collection of forces of which man may become a part. This counter-kingdom of rebellion would negate God, but even in this negation they are not abandoned.¹

From the Qumran literature we notice that sin is conceived of as that which determines a man's existence.² The sin that man does regiments him into the world of light or darkness.³

The antithesis, God-Satan, God-world, which is so distinctive for the Johannine literature, becomes somewhat qualified by Paul:

...bei Paulus wird der Widerstreit der beiden Mächte Gott und Sünde darin wirksam und zum Austrag gebracht, dass der Mensch Sünde 'tut', 'werke der Finsternis' vollbringt, oder aber 'Früchte des Geistes' trägt in Gott wohlgefälligen 'Taten' der 'Heiligung'.⁴

Kuhn believes that Paul protects against a dualistic theology by uniquely combining an "ethisch Dualismus" with the Old Testament "monotheistischen 'Schoepfungsgedanken.'"⁵ Lohmeyer adds that: "Darum ist hier nicht deutlich der Teufel der Herr einer eigenen Widergöttlichen Welt; er teilt gleichsam seine Herrschaft mit der Sünde, einer fremden metaphysischen Macht."⁶ In Paul it is clear that the lordship over

¹ Ibid., pp. 174f.

² Gallig, op. cit., p. 483.; cf., Wolfgang Schrage, Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paraenese (Guetersloh: Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1961), pp. 57f.; S. Lyonnet, op. cit., p. 206. Cf., supra, p. 30, n. 1

³ Kuhn, "Die Sektenschriften und die iranische Religion," pp. 311f.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 316f.

⁵ Ibid., p. 316.

⁶ Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), pp. 53ff.

this world belongs not to the Devil but to sin.¹ Paul defines sin as the force controlling mankind and this world. Speaking of sin, Kuhn states: "As a power it brings about concrete sin, and vice versa: by the fact that man sins concretely he comes under this power."² We must be careful not to imply that Paul advocated an absolute dualism, that Satan, as another lord and prime mover "stands behind" sin.³ In Pauline theology, the wrath of God against sinful man is as much to be feared as the power of the Devil.⁴

Sin may be considered as "god of this world" when one submits to an idolatry, substituting a faith in the creation for worship of the Creator.⁵ Sin is more than error and weakness. It is the act of participating in a counter-kingdom, the realm of this aeon, this world, life κατὰ σάρκα, in rebellion and separation from God.⁶ Any

¹Ibid., p. 56.; Wilhelm Mundle, "Religion und Sittlichkeit bei Paulus," ZSyTh, IV (1927), pp. 480f.

²Kuhn, article in Stendahl, op. cit., p. 104. Brunner interestingly describes this process as sin's "'infecting' quality." Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics, II, p. 96. Cf., Norman Powell Williams, The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), pp. 159f.

³Aulén and Heim might be mentioned as two who draw very close to this viewpoint.

⁴For the "wrath of God" understood as a personified power cf., H. Kleinknecht, et al., "Wrath," Bible Key Words from Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964), pp. 83f.

⁵Althaus, Faulus und Luther ueber den Menschen, pp. 90f.; Fuchs, Christus und der Geist, pp. 25f. We may therefore agree with Niebuhr's definition of sin as misplaced worship, giving unlimited devotion to limited values. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Nature and Destiny of Man, I, Human Nature, pp. 194f. et passim.

⁶Vogel, op. cit., pp. 445f.

object of faith which threatens to take the place of God may be designated a "god of this world."¹ The Pauline description of such a man living in the flesh, sin and death makes vivid the tentative nature of this age to such an extent that "keine Konkurrenz gegenueber der Herrschaft des Kyrios liegen muss."² Man chooses to live "in einem Raum der Ferne von Gott"³ and in this defiance and self-sufficiency he actively participates in what we may legitimately describe as a counter-kingdom of demonic servitude.

Sin as an enslaving power.---We have observed that man becomes ensnared and determined by his own sins and by the fact of his sinning.⁴ Here in Paul there seems to be an apocalyptic emphasis and a departure from the mainstream of Judaism which emphasized the freedom of choice. However, as we mentioned before, man's eventual enslavement is his own working:

...der diabolische Wille ist darum nicht eine Macht, die mich von aussen zwingt, sondern ein Wille, der von meinem Interesse Besitz nimmt, ein Wille, der in mir will. Wenn das der Fall ist, dann kann ich die Schuld an meiner Gottesfeindschaft nicht auf den Satan abwaetzen und sagen: Er hat mich dazu gezwungen...Was ich aus ihm heraus tue, ist also meine eigenste Schuld. Ich kann sie auf niemand und nichts abwaetzen, das ausser mir ist.⁵

¹Heim, Jesus the Lord, pp. 92f.

²Stalder, op. cit., p. 409.

³Ibid., p. 413.

⁴Brunner, The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics, II, p. 105.; Quell, et al., op. cit., pp. 44f.

⁵Karl Heim, Die Furche, XXI (1935), pp. 19f.

The decisive factor in this slavery for Paul is similar to the ideas we find expressed in the literature of the Dead Sea community: "...nichts das er eine Suende begeht erweist ihn schon als Sohn Frevels, sondern ob er die Suende liebt, sie mit seinem Willen bejaht, und das bedeutet: dabei beharrt."¹ In Qumran as in Paul, what man loves or hates, what he worships or shuns, determines his existence. Earlier, in similar language, Lohmeyer considered the whole question of a free will or enslaved will as an artificial question for Pauline studies: "...alle Entscheidung ist durch die Gewalt der Suende schon entscheiden, und jede Tat kann diese Untertaenigkeit nur besiegeln und wie von neuem manifestieren."²

Man is sold as a slave, possessed by his own sin.³ Schrage's words best summarize this position: "Mit recht ist immer wieder betont worden, dass ἀμαρτία fuer Paulus weniger die einzelne Verfehlung, als vor allem die daemonische, widergoettliche Macht ist, die den ganzen Menschen versklavt und in Ketten haelt..."⁴

We may thus apply Manson's imagery of "an enemy occupied country"⁵ or Heim's idea of a "prisoner of war"⁶ just as well to demon possession as to the Pauline doctrine of sin. Ellwein, therefore, can paraphrase Paul's words in Romans vii in terms of a type of demon possession with

¹Kuhn, "Die Sektenschriften und die iranische Religion," p. 302.

²Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), p. 4.

³Grundmann, NT, II (1958), pp. 51f.; Fuchs, ZThK, I (1962), pp. 290f.; Schrage, op. cit., pp. 163f.; Althaus, Die Christliche Wahrheit, Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, p. 390.; Braun, ZThK, LVI (1959), pp. 5f.

⁴Schrage, op. cit., p. 64.

⁵Manson, op. cit., p. 12.

⁶Heim, Jesus the Lord, pp. 90f.

which we are acquainted from the gospel accounts:

Die Suende wohnt in mir, sie herrscht damit ueber mich. Sie fuehrt das Regiment. Sie hat das Ich in ihre Gewalt gebracht...Anderseits kann sich das Ich von der Suende unterscheiden und ist ihr doch verfallen, ist von ihr besessen. Wieder die Furchtbare Identitaet des Ich: 'Ich' bringe das Wollen fertig, aber 'Ich' vollbringe es nicht, weil die Suende mein Ich ergriffen, in ihm die Herrschaft an sich gerissen hat.¹

One tradition in rabbinic Judaism depicts the demons as those souls which were created on the sixth day and not given bodies because God was caught unaware by the Sabbath day before his work was finished.² In Mark v. 11f., the request of the demons "eine neue irdische Behausung zu finden"³ reveals a fact about the power of darkness which is no less true for the Pauline doctrine of sin. The demons must inhabit and take possession of a person or body in order to manifest their power. A demonic realm does not appear to exist by itself, but only insofar as it occupies a body and works through this agency. The Pauline account of sin is characterized in terms of this type of demon possession.

Hempel infers from the Pauline phrase ἡ ἐνοικοῦσα ἐν ὑμῶν ἁμαρτία an arresting analogy to the activity of Satan who enters and takes possession of Judas Iscariot in Luke xxii. 3f.⁴

¹ Ellwein, *op. cit.*, p. 249. Cf., *supra*, p. 79, n. 1.

² St-B, "Exkurs: zur altjuedischen Daemonologie," p. 505.

³ Josef Schmid, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Auflage 4; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1958), p. 110. The Christian is therefore urged not to "give a place" to Satan. The phrase μηδε δίδουε τόπον τῷ διαβόλῳ of Eph. iv. 27 may be considered equivalent to μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θυμῷ ὑμῶν σῶματι of Rom. vi. 12 where sin should be given no place.

⁴ Hempel, *ZSyTh*, X (1932), pp. 182f.

The point of demonic possession has been reached when Paul can speak of the "I" as not "I, but sin."¹ Stalder comments on this unique explanation of sin in Paul: "Mensch, der Agent und Repraesentant der Suendenmacht geworden ist, nicht nur etwas Boese an sich hat, sondern boese ist."² Sin, therefore, in Pauline theology, may become a demon-possessing power to whom man is given over into bondage.³

Sin as a power of destruction.---In Israel the community was in danger of destruction from Satan and the wrath of God because of sin.⁴ "Sin begets sin" or "the sinner will add sin to sins"⁵ is the familiar Jewish counterpart to Paul's words of Romans i. 18f. Eventually, the deadly sin is committed and destruction follows.⁶ Sin results in death not only because sin is not rooted in God, the source of life,⁷ but because sin disrupts and disintegrates the life-relationship found only in fellowship with God the Creator. Therefore, in the words of Althaus, we find that Paul can speak of man in a state of a living-death:

¹The existentialist description of the "I" being divided against itself would, in the light of this presentation, seem less appropriate to portraying the Pauline thought. Perhaps it is to correct this idea that Buri, an existentialist theologian, says: "Das Boese ist hier Person, weil es seinen Sitz im menschlichen Personsein ist..." Fritz Buri, Dogmatik als Selbstverstaendnis des christlichen Glaubens, II (Tuebingen: Katzmann Verlag, 1962), p. 295.

²Stalder, op. cit., p. 419.

³Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), p. 24.; Hommel, op. cit., p. 62.

⁴Hempel, ZSyTh, X (1930), pp. 174f.

⁵Ps. Sol. iii. 12.

⁶Cf., Quell, et al., op. cit., pp. 43f.

⁷Bultmann, NTT, II, pp. 230f. et passim.; Fuchs, ZThK, LIX (1962), p. 306.

...man kann nicht zweifeln, dass Paulus ebenso wie die Genesis und das Spätjudentum bei dem 'Tode' nicht zunächst oder jedenfalls nicht nur an den 'ewigen' Tod der Gottesferne, sondern an die Zerstörung des irdischen Lebens im leiblichen Sterben gedacht hat.¹

In this connection Cone reminds us that destruction of man is brought about by his choice to live in exclusion and banishment from the divine presence.² In addition, the gospel narratives sufficiently attest both the interrelationship and destructive power of demon possession, sickness and sin.³ Whether it is expressed in the form of Satans or sin, the demonic is recognizable in its power to destroy life.⁴ Sin, according to Aulén, is so intimately connected with death and destruction that one is permitted to state that "die Suende, der Ungehorsam, ihrem Wesen nach Tod ist."⁵

Summary and conclusion.---We notice in this chapter the consensus of present day New Testament scholarship, which is probably sensitive to the monstrous evil of two world wars in our generation. But for other reasons also, modern scholarship rejects categorically the moralistic and subjective definitions of sin as "error" and "weakness." Sin has an incomprehensible and radical dimension best expressed in terms of demonic power and a kingdom of darkness.

¹Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, p. 319.

²Cone, op. cit., p. 166.

³R. Siebeck, "Krankheit als Folge der Suende," ThLZ, LXXVI (1951), cols. 340f.

⁴Althaus, Die christliche Wahrheit, Lehrbuch der Dogmatik, pp. 389f.

⁵Aulén, ZSyTh, VIII (1930), p. 507.; cf., Everling, op. cit., pp. 21f.; R. A. Stewart, op. cit., pp. 88f.;

Although explicit statements which would unite sin with a demonic power are somewhat lacking in ancient literature, there can be no mistake that in Pauline theology Satan and sin register the same effect upon man. One cannot be faithful to the apostle's witness and dismiss this mythical language as mere expressive metaphor. Paul speaks about sin with all the intensity of an apocalyptic thinker. One may speak of sin-existence and a living-death to describe the Pauline doctrine. Sin is not only the evil which man works, but sin works evil upon man. By love of sin and acts of rebellion mankind chooses to take up a position of isolation and estrangement from the wrath and forgiveness of God. Man in his continual sinning may reach a point of no return which, for Paul, is expressed in the vivid language of demon possession. As we observed, man's sin is both his responsible deed and a demonic power. The demons in Paul are, (if we may use the term) "demythologized" by the apostle himself and sin appears as the Satan-substitute. Sin works upon man what in Jewish tradition was the function of the Satanic realm. Sin kills, destroys, seduces, causes rebellion, enslaves and possesses the person.

We must conclude, therefore, that sin is a demonic power in so far as its action upon man corresponds to that which one would expect from the evil spirits and Satanic forces of the underworld.

CHAPTER V

THE DEMONIC QUALITY OF "DEATH": A HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

In the present chapter our task is to examine the interrelationship of the demonic world and the power of death. Since, in Pauline theology, sin and death are closely associated, much of what was said in our last chapter may be assumed as applicable here also. However, there are significant and distinctive features in the apostle's doctrine of death which deserve our special attention.

Death, the last enemy.---As we consider the literature on the subject of the Pauline teaching on death, we observe that in the earlier period of scholarship attention was infrequently given to the question of the demonic nature of death.¹

It was Dibelius who first recognized that Paul was picturing death as the demonic enemy of God.² Dibelius likened death to the role of Satan who in Jewish and early Christian belief was the destroyer of

¹We may mention as an example of this earlier period the work by Alfred Seeberg, Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Erloesung (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895), pp. 286ff.

²Martin Dibelius, op. cit., pp. 114f. Cf., supra, p. 17, n. 3.

life (Heb. ii. 14)¹ With this parallel passage of Hebrews in mind, we may say that death is the last and most fearful spiritual power of this world, the king of the present aeon, and may almost be termed with Satan as a "god of this age" (II Cor iv. 4).² Death is a ruling power which gains its strength from the existence of sin in the world. Although only I Cor. xv. 26, 54-56 is given in Dibelius' view as clear indication of death's cosmic nature, other passages lead to a similar conclusion.³

Death, a personified king.---Freundorfer indicates that death's "entering the world" is referred to in language similar to that used of the coming of the Logos in the Johannine literature. Death must, therefore, be understood as if it were a person, a "Personifikation eines in der Menschenwelt waltenden Herrschers."⁴ In raising objections to the interpretation of Kabisch, Freundorfer claims that death expresses, in Pauline thought, much more than the physical cessation of life. He concludes that: "Die Universalität des Todes begründet Paulus mit

¹ δὲ τὸ τοῦ θανάτου καταργήσῃ τὸν τὸ κράτος ἔχοντα τοῦ θανάτου, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸν διάβολον
Michel believes both the author of Hebrews and Paul, in I Cor. xv. 25-28, were thinking of death in similar mythological terms. καταργεῖν in Hebrews ii. 14 may reflect cognizance of I Cor. xv. 24, 26 for this is the only place where this word occurs in Hebrews. Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Hebräer (7 Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1936), pp. 37f. Both Paul and the Hebrews' writer (Heb. ii. 14b) agree that Christ conquered death by taking death upon himself. Cf., art. "Tod" RGK, VI (dritte Auflage), col. 914.

²Loewe remarks that in late Judaism sickness and disturbances of life and nature were all part of a "synkretistischen Komplex" which may be termed the world of Satan's rulership. Richard Loewe, Kosmos und Aion (Gutersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1935), pp. 39ff.

³Among these might be mentioned Rom. vi. 9; vii. 5; viii. 38; I Cor iii. 22; v. 5; x. 10; II Cor iii. 7; iv. 3-4;

⁴Freundorfer, op. cit., p. 227.

der Universalitaet der Suende..."¹ In this sense death (Rom. v. 21) may be compared with the divine *κατάκριμα* (Rom. v. 16, 18).² Death is to be acclaimed as a supra-physical phenomenon. Both sin and death in Paul are revealed as "koeniglichen Maechte."³

Death, the negation of creation.---In a debate with

R. Schnackenburg and O. Casel, Eduard Strommel's article discusses the Greek word *ῥοιῶματι* in Rom. vi. 5. Upon close analysis Strommel's presentation proves to be an example of the many studies which omit the cosmic-apocalyptic elements of the Pauline life-death antithesis. The new life in Christ is explained "lediglich im moralischen Sinne" and in Strommel's meaning the participation in Christ's death by the believer indicates a generalized metamorphosis of our nature in order to accept the role of sonship.⁴

Kaesemann, however, takes a different line of argument. For him the Old Testament doctrine of creation presupposes death for the un-godly.

Auf dieses suendige Tun des Menschen folgt der Tod. Er ist nicht nur Strafe. "Metaphysisch" oder, wie wir nun gleich sagen duerfen: im Geschehen der Suende ist der Tod mitgegeben...Ein menschliche Weltlichkeit, die vom Schoepfer absah und sich allein aus der Welt verstand, muss nicht nur sterben, sondern schon als solche "tot" sein. Denn die Welt lebt nur aus dem Schoepfer, wer vom diesem sich isolierte, traegte den Tod als Schicksal. Er lebt fortan auf dem Grunde des Todes.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 232. Cf. Martin Dibelius, "Vier Woerte des Roemerbriefes," Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses (Uppsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri, 1944), pp. 8f.

²Freundorfer, op. cit., p. 260

³Ibid., p. 230.

⁴Eduard Strommel, "Das 'Abbild seines Todes'," (Roem. vi. 5) und der Taufritus," Roemische Quartalschrift fuer christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte, L (1955), pp. 7f.

⁵Kaesemann, Leib und Leib Christi, pp. 118f.

Death, according to Althaus, is not only man's enemy but is also represented as the arch-foe of God, a disruptive and foreign element in the cosmos. Death stands in opposition to God's creation as the power of chaos and meaninglessness.¹

Lohmeyer remarks that in the apocalyptic drama of I Cor. xv there is little interest in the role of Satan. For Paul sin and death are the real cosmic enemies of God.² As we see in Kaesemann, Althaus, and others, Lohmeyer also attests that death signifies all things hostile to the life which is found only in the Creator.³ In its theological implication death is not merely the natural end of life but an outside force which threatens to overthrow the divine plan of creation. For Paul, "ist also niemals der Tod das natuerliche und notwendige Ende des Lebens, sondern eine fremde Gewalt aus einem Reich, das mit dem Gottesgedanken dieses Lebens nichts gemein hat."⁴ Man, being flesh, stands afar off at a distance from God. His conduct of life κατὰ σάρκα instead of according to the will of God is a death-existence: "Darum müssen dann alle, die nicht auf das goettliche Ziel alles Lebens gerichtet sind, in strengem Sinne 'tot' heissen."⁵ Mankind and his world are not independent entities but have their source of life in the God of creation.

¹Cf., Paul Althaus, Der Christenglaube und das Sterben (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1949); idem, Der Brief an die Roemer (2 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1933), pp. 43f.

²Ernst Lohmeyer, ZNW, XXIX (1930), pp. 8f.

³Ibid., pp. 21f.

⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵Ibid., p. 42.

Death as separation from God.---Hirsch illustrates the mythical-metaphysical dimension in the Pauline doctrine of death when he describes it as the power which separates man from God and the chain of captivity to the forces of darkness.¹

Bultmann designates death as a cosmic power which is "...ein Schrecken, den man fuerchtet und den man nur unter den schrecklichsten Umstaenden sucht. Heroisiert wird das Sterben nirgends [italics mine]..."² In Paul, according to Bultmann, "Tod als daemonische Person aufgefasst wird."³ Man exists in death, cut off from the Creator, the source of life, when he "von-sich-aus-sein-wollen." In the Pauline meaning, therefore, the demonic power of death is recognizable by its "Nichtungscharakter."

Death in the Pauline atonement-theology.---A most important study on the subject of the apostle's doctrine of death is that presented by Gustav Wiencke. He was dissatisfied with Ritschl's interpretation of death because of its predominant "Opfergedanken."⁴ Other works on atonement-theology such as those by Kuehl⁵ which sought to show the suffering deed of Christ in the light of God's justice,

¹Emmanuel Hirsch, "Tod und Leben," Deutsche Theologie, I (1934), pp. 139f.

²Rudolf Bultmann, art. θάνατος TWNT, III, p. 14.

³Ibid., p. 14.; Cf. Grundmann, where death is described as a person possessing a "satanische Herrschaft," Der Begriff Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt, p. 77.

⁴Gustav Wiencke, Paulus ueber Jesu Tod (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1939), pp. 6f.

⁵Ernst Kuehl, Die Heilsbedeutung des Todes Christi, 1890, apud, Wiencke, op. cit., pp. 6f.

Seeberg¹ which defined the love of Christ as the meaning of the Messiah's death, and Hollmann² which is based on a comparison of Paul with Isaiah liii, Wiencke considered equally inadequate to describe the apostle's teaching on death. Wiencke believed that some monograph was needed which would give credit to the "kosmischen und metaphysischen Gegensatz" in the Pauline theology.³ According to Wiencke, Paul goes much further than the early church and ascribes to Christ's death a "kosmische Bedeutung."⁴ Wiencke wisely suggests that one should not over-stress the cosmic powers to the point of speculation. For Paul these powers are descriptive characters in the entire atonement drama; they are backstaged "hinter der Vorstellung der zwei Aeonen und ist Paulus einfach die notwendige Voraussetzung fuer die eschatologische Deutung des Heils in Christi Tod."⁵ Death, along with sin, flesh and the law represent personified enslaving powers of the past aeon and it is the death of Christ which restores a cosmic peace. Christ embodies in his life, death and resurrection the eschatological hopes promised in the new age.⁶ Wiencke admits that Paul uses some sacrificial language from Old Testament cultic traditions but the fact that Paul does not follow up in detail with this theme is evidence that the concept of sacrifice was not the primary meaning of Christ's death in Paul.⁷

¹A. Seeberg, Der Tod Christi in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Erloesung, 1895, apud, Wiencke, op. cit., pp. 6f.

²G. Hollmann, Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen eigenen Aussagen auf Grund der Synoptischen Evangelien, 1901, apud, Wiencke, op. cit., pp. 6f.

³Wiencke, op. cit., p. 27.

⁴Ibid., p. 23.

⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁶Ibid., pp. 33f.

⁷Ibid., p. 62.

Wiencke rejects the meaning of Jesus' death as payment of debt in the juristic sense.¹ In Paul, rather, the all important meaning of Christ's death was to be found in the apostle's belief that in this event the shift of the aeons had taken place:² "Da er den Wendepunkt der Aeonen in Jesu Tod erblickt verkündigt Paulus das Heil als eine Befreiung von der Herrschaft des Gesetzes, der Sünde und des Todes, die er als personifizierte universale Mächte dieses Aeons darstellt."³

The Christian View of death.---Leipoldt distinguishes between the Greek and Jewish doctrines of death. Because they interpreted man as the ultimate of all creation, the Greeks would try to say death is sleep, is not to be feared, and that man can become the master by the courageous way he faces even this defeat. In Jewish theology, however, death is the sovereign dread.⁴ Leipoldt shows how early Greek philosophical literature tried to convince its hearers that death was a friend.⁵

Cullmann denies that the early Christians thought of the soul as immortal in the Hellenistic sense of the word. This is accentuated when one contrasts the Hellenistic and Christian views of death. For Plato, death is the "grosse Befreier"⁶ whereas the early church saw

¹Ibid., p. 86.

²Ibid., p. 95.

³Ibid., p. 182.

⁴Geschwind confirms this view of death when he finds that in Jewish tradition, the Devil, the demonic underworld and death were all thought of as a united power front. Karl Geschwind, Die Niederfahrt Christi in die Unterwelt (Muenster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1911), pp. 240f., 149f.

⁵Cf., Johannes Leipoldt, Der Tod bei Griechen und Juden (Leipzig: Verlag George Wigand, 1942), pp. 48ff., 61ff.

⁶Oscar Cullmann, "Unsterblichkeit der Seele und Auferstehung der Toten," ThZ, XII (1956), p. 131. [ET] Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead, p. 20.

death in all its horror as the most dreaded "Feind."¹ We are rendered helpless in the face of this last enemy for death gains power through man's wickedness. "Ein Anderer," a counter-power from outside the human sphere must intervene and break the chain of events where the sins of mankind continue to beget his death.²

Death-Existence.---According to Nelis," θάνατος
avec son allié ἀμαρτία représentées les puissances hostiles à
la vie."³ Bornkamm also explains that living for one's self instead
of for God may be termed a death-existence.⁴ Mankind, who is being
sin-possessed, progresses towards death; by choosing sin he becomes
his own assassin; "Diese Unheimlichkeit besteht darin, dass ich nicht
mehr in mir heimisch bin, sondern die Suende in mir heimisch ist und

¹Ibid., p. 133. Cf. also Daube's article which is not really a contradiction of Cullmann's insight. Although Daube finds in Paul (II Cor v. 1ff.; Phil. i. 23) traces of Platonic ideas, that death is good, there is no attempt to argue that this was the dominant view of the apostle. In Jewish tradition, says Daube, death could be understood as the good only in situations where this life had become unbearable and this constitutes a contrast to Plato's disregard for earthly existence in general. David Daube, "Death as Release in the Bible," NT, V (1962), pp. 94 ff., 100, 103.

²Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 143ff. [ET] pp. 22f. Stauffer, referring to the words of Ignatius, describes man's situation of sin as the "prison in which we were all born...The tragedy of having to sin reaches its climax in the tragedy of having to die." Ethelbert Stauffer, NTT, pp. 69ff.

³J. Nelis, "L' Antithèse Littéraire, Ζωή - θάνατος dans les Épitres Pauliniennes," Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, XIX (1943), p. 52.

⁴Guenther Bornkamm, "Der Mensch im Leibe des Todes," Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel, II (1950), pp. 32f.

ich also meinen eigenen Moerder (Rm 7, 11. 13) in mir trage."¹

Barosse contends that there is a progressive nature of death. Striving after the way of flesh and this world is a courting of death: "Death goes on extending and consolidating its domain, its control, reign, rights over the sinner."² Barosse states that Paul's theology runs counter to Greek thought; for in the apostle's doctrine death is revealed as the king of terrors.

When death is connected with sin, this implies that more is involved in our understanding of death than the natural cessation of life. Paul is describing a final separation from a Holy God, that which Barosse terms a "total death." Barosse claims, therefore, that we are justified in defining death as a "cosmic force" or "personified power" in conflict with God's design for man's salvation. This death is the "proper and inseparable effect" of man's sin.³

Sin, death and the demonic.---Rahner presents a strong case for the interrelationship of death and the demonic world:

Wie der Tod Folge der Suende ist, so erscheint er auch in der Schrift als Ausdruck der Machtsphaere des Teufels, ist zunaechst, wie biblisch unmittelbar greifbar ist, darin begruendet, dass die Suende Adams, die den Tod in die Welt brachte, veranlasst war durch die Versuchung des Teufels.⁴

Between sin and the Devil there exists an "unmittelbares Verhaeltnis." The doctrine of the fall of the angels is significant illustration of

¹Ibid., pp. 40

²Th. Barosse, "Death and Sin in Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans," The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XV (1953), p. 445.

³Ibid., pp. 447f.

⁴Karl Rahner, Zur Theologie des Todes (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1958), p. 47.

this relationship because "...gerade darum allkosmische Verhaeltnis
wesenhafter Art zwischen Engel und Welt besteht."¹ In his acts of
rebellion, man wills a "gnadenlos autonomen Vollendung"² which
inevitably leads to death since there is no life outside of God. Death
is the "Sichtbarkeit der Schuld" of man³ the "Erscheinungsform derjenigen
Gottesferne, die das Gesamtschicksal in Adam sich zugezogen hat."⁴
Death stands "in einem ursaechlichen Zusammenhang mit der Suende"; this
sin is the destroyer of the life relationship which exists only with
God. But death is more than the resultant punishment for sin; it is
also the "Hoehepunkt der Suende selbst, Todsuende im eigentlichsten
Sinne des Wortes."⁵ One participates, by his sinning, in this world of
death; he excludes himself from the divine presence, the source of life,
and is destined for the aeon of destruction over whom Satan rules as the
god of this world.

Death and Cosmos.---According to Seidensticker, death is the
"Stigma der unerloesten Welt" and not merely a part of the natural order
of creation.⁶ Death and sin are "personifizierte Maechte" or
"feindliche Gewalten."⁷ Death is equivalent to God's κατέκρυψα :⁸
"Die Suende erscheint dagegen zunaechst nur als die Schrittmacherin des
Todes, sie oeffnet ihm die Tore in die Welt, und dann geht der Tod,
anscheinend als die groessere Macht..."⁹

¹ Ibid., p. 48.

² Ibid., p. 49.

³ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

⁵ Ibid., p. 40.

⁶ P. Philippus Seidensticker, "Taufe und Tod, Das Problem des
leiblichen Todes im Roemerbrief," Studdii Biblici Franciscani, IV
(1954), p. 166.

⁷ Ibid., p. 125.

⁸ Ibid., p. 168.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 125f.

Mussner contends, in similar words, that John and Paul are in close agreement at points of cosmology: "Folgerichtig traegt alles, was im Kosmos geboren wird, wesensmaessig die Signatur des Todes an sich. Deshalb gibt es im Kosmos selbst Kein Lebensprinzip, durch das seine Todverfallenheit ueberwunden werden konnte."¹ The terms διάβολος, πονηρός etc. are descriptive mythological forms: "Diese termini kennzeichnen die Todeswelt; die Abstammung aus ihnen kann deshalb unmoeiglich ein Lebensprinzip verleihen, das den Todesbedingungen ihres eigenen Wesens enthoben waere."² This should remind us that the evil powers must be considered as general representation of what the late Jewish apocalyptic literature frequently designated as the dying world and passing aeon.³ In John and for the apostle Paul it is not so much the material world which is evil: "Boese sind nur die Menschen selber, deshalb stehen sie unter der Herrschaft des 'Fuersten dieser Welt' und nur deshalb sind sie dem 'Tod' und Todesgericht verfallen."⁴ Mussner points out how this death situation of the cosmos is not unlike the Pauline description in Rom. v. 12-24.⁵

Kuss also rejects the idea that death is part of the natural order: For Paul "...der Tod ist vielmehr verhasster Feind, er gehoert

¹ Franz Mussner, ZQH : Die Anschauung von 'Leben' im vierten Evangelium (Muenchen: Karl Zink Verlag, 1952), p. 18.

² Ibid., p. 120.

³ In Slavonic Enoch and 4th Esdras, according to Mussner, the "new life" may be designated as identical with the "new aeon." Also in Syriac Baruch, the author is conscious "von der radikalen Todesgestalt dieses Aeons." Ibid., pp. 22f.

⁴ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵ Ibid., p. 62.

zur Unordnung in dieser Welt und auf gar keinen Fall zu der Ordnung, wie sie von Gott gemeint ist."¹ Paul speaks of death as a "handelnden Macht, von einer tyrannischen Gewalt, gegen die es Widerstand nicht gibt, die herrscht und die versklavt."² Death may further be described as "ein Bereich der absoluten Gottesferne"³ and in the theological sense we can only speak of "Tod vor Gott."⁴ Therefore, in the Pauline interpretation, death may be paralleled with "Verdammnis" (κατάκριμα) and "Verderben" (ἀπώλεια, ἀπόλλυμι). We recall in Kuss' words reflections of our earlier argument that sin can be a possessing power which brings destruction as its end product: "Wo das 'Fleisch' als Operationsbasis der Suende masgebend geworden ist, dort ist der Tod nicht weit..."⁵ The Pauline definition of life as "Heilsgut" helps us to understand better the depth of meaning in the apostle's doctrine of death.⁶ Kuss is correct to declare that Paul

¹Kuss, "Exkurs: Suende und Tod, Erbtod und Erbsuende, op. cit., p. 260.

²Ibid., p. 244.

³Ibid., p. 251. Bonsirven therefore defines death as being "cut off from God." Joseph Bonsirven, Theology of the New Testament, trans. S. F. L. Tye (London: Burns and Oates, 1963), pp. 257ff.

⁴Kuss, op. cit., p. 252. Denney conveys this same idea when he indicates that "Death is the word which sums up the whole liability of man in relation to sin..." James Denney, The Death of Christ (2nd edition; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902), p. 128.

⁵Kuss, op. cit., p. 252.

⁶Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5," Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, Essays in honor of Otto Piper, ed. by William Klassen and Graydon Snyder (London: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 156ff.

did not make clear-cut distinctions between "eternal," "spiritual," and "physical" death;¹ but rather "...der Apostel unterscheidet nicht so schematisch, er sieht das Faktum 'Tod' offenbar viel staerker als komplexe Einheit..."²

Kaesemann has in our opinion properly grasped the context of radical apocalyptic imagery which surrounds the Pauline theology of death. At one point he remarks: "Die Taufe trennt die beiden Machtsphaeren...Himmel und Hoelle stehen sich hier gegenueber..."³ Deliverance from the old aeon of death is understood in terms of the change from one demonic lordship to the "neuen Herrschaftsbereich" of Christ.⁴ One's existence is determined by the Lord he serves; and a death-existence is the result of enslavement to the powers of this age.⁵

In the thinking of Stalder, sin is a "gotwidrige Macht, als die

¹For a short history of scholarship on this problem cf., Egon Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, exegetisch religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Roem 5.12-21 (I Cor. 15), (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), p. 167.

²Kuss, op. cit., pp. 252f.

³Ernst Kaesemann, "Eine urchristliche Tauf liturgie," EVuB, p. 44. Bornkamm also ranks death with the demonic powers of the old age. "Taufe und neues Leben bei Paulus," DEdG, p. 396. Cf., Guenter Wagner, Das religionsgeschichtliche Problem von Roemer 6.1-11 (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1962), p. 303.

⁴Sevenster also acknowledges the importance of aeon theology for understanding the apostle's doctrine of death. Cf., J. N. Sevenster, "Eine Bemerkung ueber den 'Zwischenzustand' bei Paulus," NTS, I (1955), pp. 291f. Cf., also Russell Philip Shedd, Man in Community (London: The Epworth Press, 1958), pp. 118ff.

⁵Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Anliegen und Eigenart der paulinischen Abendmahlslehre," EVuB, pp. 20, 31.

Macht des Nichts, der Zerstoerung, die sich im Tod dokumentiert, ausser uns im Kosmos da ist und ihre Macht und ihr wesen entfaltet."¹ Death's demonic nature is to be seen in that it possesses the power to destroy. Mankind in this aeon is enslaved to his sin and therefore destined to death. Stalder agrees with others we have mentioned that death is but another name for God's κατάκριμα.² This curse of the law is the "Hintergrund des Todes." "Wie die Fluch den Tod bedeutet, so bedeutet die Erledigung des Fluches das Leben."³ Death in the Pauline theological sense is more than the physical destruction of the earthly body but a representation of man's striving for a "Trennung, Befreiung von Gott" which characterizes his partnership in this aeon of sin.⁴ Man's willing for himself this separation from God is the Pauline definition of a death-existence, which is properly understood only through the apostle's eschatological world view. Man as a sinning agent is the enemy of God: "Gott nicht gefallen heisst unter seinem Nein stehen, heisst im Tod sein..."⁵ Death is never to be understood as merely a "irgendwoher kommendes Verhaengnis," a part of the orderly process of human existence,⁶ but is a situation brought about by man's deliberate and continual rejection of the divine created order.

Hamp reflects some of these same ideas above when he asserts that death is not simply God's punishment for sin but "die Versklavung des ganzen Lebens unter die feindlichen Todesgewalten..."⁷ Hamp affirms

¹ Stalder, op. cit., p. 276.

² Ibid., p. 279.

³ Ibid., p. 395

⁴ Ibid., p. 421

⁵ Ibid., p. 423

⁶ Ibid., pp. 148f., 273.

⁷ Vinzenz Hamp, "Paradies und Tod," Neutestamentliche Aufsätze, Festschrift fuer Prof. Josef Schmid zum 70 Geburtstag (Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1963), p. 101.

that in Paul death is "vielfach wesentlich weiter gefasst als in unserem gewoehnlichen Sprachgebrauch."¹ Death is personified as: "geradezu zum Unheilsbegriff und Symbol fuer alles Gottwidrige, Negative, Boese und Schaedlich...Daher auch die engste Verbindung von Tod, Suende und Satan..."² Hamp continues to say that in both the wisdom literature and in Paul a deeper understanding of death is obtained: "Er ist nicht das exire de corpore oder das Ende des leiblichen Lebens, sondern die moralische, religioese und ewige Trennung von Gott, dem Lebendigen."³

Life-death antithesis.---Most recently, Brandenburger's important study has been added to the discussion on the Pauline doctrine of death. He too sees Paul as reflecting much of the thought of late Jewish apocalyptic in his teaching on death.⁴ In Paul both sin and death are to be conceived of as destructive powers:

...als ein persoenliches Wesen, als ein Macht, der das βασιλεύειν ueber alle zukommt. Der Knechtschaft unter die Macht der Suende folgt unmittelbar die Verlorenheit an die Macht des Todes, die auch als Werkzeug der Herrschafts- ausuebung der Suende vorgestellt werden kann. So ist auch das der Suende verfallene Ich bereits von Anfang an im Tode.⁵

In Brandenburger's opinion, death must be understood as something "'kosmische', d.h. die ganze Menschen umgreifende, Maechtigkeiten dargestellt werden."⁶ A close connection exists between sin and death in the thinking of Paul:

So ist der Suender nach Roem. 5, 10f., 13 immer schon im Tode verloren, im σῶμα τοῦ θανάτου (7, 24) von der σαρπηφία fern; er ist als Sklave der

¹Ibid., p. 105

²Ibid., p. 105

³Ibid., p. 106.

⁴Brandenburger, op. cit., pp. 21ff.

⁵Ibid., pp. 164f.

⁶Ibid., p. 178.

Suende auch dem Nomos der ihn beherrschender Macht des Todes im Leben unterworfen (7, 2), was man dahingehend verstehen kann, dass er dazu verurteilt ist, in seinem Leben nur das καρποφορεῖν τῷ θανάτῳ (7, 5) vollbringen zu muessen.

Paul uses death to signify the "Verlorenheit des Menschen vor Gott" which is the stamp of man oriented in this aeon.²

Brandenburger affirms that Paul thinks apocalyptically, in terms of the thesis-antithesis of life-death and the two aeons.³ We must therefore notice that, for the apostle Paul, death is placed within an eschatological framework of thought:

Die auffallende formale Struktur der meisten Aussagen und ihre paraenetische Ausrichtung erinnert stark an entsprechende spaetjuedische Stellen, wo die ins Eschatologische gewendete Aussage ueber die Entscheidung zwischen Leben und Tod aus Dt. 30, 19 immer wieder aufgegriffen und variiert wird.⁴

Brandenburger's quarrel with Barth⁵ is that much more is involved here

¹ Ibid., p. 166.

² Ibid., p. 165.

³ Cf., Rom. vi. 21f. τέλος ἐκείνων θάνατος - τέλος ζωῆν αἰώνιον (Rom. viii. 13; Gal. vi. 8) Rom. vi. 16; v. 17, 18b, 21 ἡτοιμασμένης εἰς θάνατον - ἡ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην; Rom. viii. 5ff. τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος, - τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη; Rom. ii. 5f. ζωὴ αἰώνιος - ὀργὴ καὶ θυμός; cf., Rom. i. 32; v. 9f.; Rom. vii. 5f. καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ - ὥστε δουλεύειν (ἡμᾶς) ἐν κακότητι πνεύματος; II Cor. vii. 10 θάνατος - σωτηρία; Phil. i. 28; iii. 19 ἀπώλεια - σωτηρία; Rom. v. 16b. εἰς κατάκριμα - εἰς δικαίωμα

For further evidence of this argument for Paul as an apocalyptic thinker cf. Ibid., pp. 165f.; L. Goppelt, "Apokalyptik und Typologie bei Paulus," ThLZ, LXXXIX (1964), cols. 321f.

⁴ Brandenburger, op. cit., p. 166.

⁵ Cf. Karl Barth, Christ and Adam, man and humanity in Romans 5, trans. T. A. Smail, Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers, No. 5 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956), pp. 15ff.

than the comparison of Christ and Adam: "Ihr geht es also in bestimmter Hinsicht nicht um sachlichen Gegensatz und sachliche Ungleichheit, sondern um die grundsätzliche Herausstellung der Unvergleichbarkeit des Adam -und Christusgeschehens."¹

The advent of the new aeon of Christ is the culmination of the death age; a "Wechsel der Mächtsbereiche" has taken place which is unlike the Gnostic mystical aeon theology, but corresponds most closely to "die Rede -und Vorstellungsweise der jüdisch-apokalyptischen Tradition." [sic].²

Summary and conclusions.---In our history of scholarship we have learned that even for the purpose of detailed study, one cannot and must not dissociate the Pauline doctrine of death from the apostle's teaching on sin. In an eschatological framework of thought, sin-possessed man is man in death. Death is not simply punishment for sin but the concept which gives sin its proper definition. Sin is choosing as the ground of one's existence a condition of separation from God who is the matrix of life. Sin is, as it were, the will to "go it alone," to live from one's self instead of from God. It is this condition of isolation from God which may be defined as a living-death. Therefore, sin-existence, with all its demonic associations, may also legitimately be designated as a death-existence. This is our first indication of death's demonic nature, its indissoluble union with sin.

Death is the antithesis to all that is God. Death represents the power of destruction personified in mythical language as a ruler of

¹Brandenburger, op. cit., p. 231. Cf., his Excursus "Zu K. Barths Verstaendnis von Roem v. 12-21," pp. 267ff.

²Ibid., pp. 229f.

this aeon. It can therefore in a sense be allied with the role of Satan who is also the destroyer of life. The apostle's use of symbolic language of personification is another clue to death's demonic qualities.

Paul speaks of death on many occasions by using the life-death antithesis style form. This is reminiscent of the late Jewish apocalyptic imagery of a passing aeon which is in the control of demonic forces. The prevalence of this type of aeon theology and the Pauline tendency to think within an apocalyptic structure of thought is further justification for our defining death cosmically and understanding it within the concept of a death-age. Death then becomes the designation for the lostness of man and cosmos.

Death is not a part of God's natural order. It is an outside "something" which was introduced into the world through man's acts of sinful rebellion. Death is not a "fate" which constitutes part of the divine plan but "wages" of man's action apart from this divine will. Death therefore is a power of chaos which, as we learn from the earliest mythology of Jewish and near eastern tradition, may be interchangeable with demonic forces of the deep.

Death, then, because it is so closely associated with the role of sin, may be regarded in the theology of Paul as a demonic force which destroys life; it is the antithesis of God, an outside ~~entity~~ which enters the world through man's disobedience and is to be allied with the enemies and the powers of an aeon¹ consigned to destruction.

¹Cf., I Cor. xv. 24ff.

PART II

THE NATURE OF THE VICTORY

CHAPTER VI

THE NATURE OF THE VICTORY

OVER FLESH

We have already discovered in our earlier chapter dealing with the history of scholarship, that $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ is not itself a demonic power but designates the sphere of the human which by its rebellion and separation from God in a " $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ -only" existence may become possessed by the enslaving grip of sin. In the present chapter we need to investigate evidence within the context of the Pauline atonement-theology which might point to a strategy of conquest over $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$, which may become the bulwark for the demonic power of sin. The nature of our study will require that we deal fully with the Pauline interpretation of $\piνεϋμα$ which is the counter-power to $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$.

A. $\piνεϋμα$ as Divine Counter-Power to $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$

The identification of $\piνεϋμα$ and $\deltaϋναμις$.---We have previously mentioned the important study by Gunkel which concluded that $\piνεϋμα$ should be understood as "...die uebernaturliche Kraft, welche von Gott durch Christus den Glaebigen gesandt ist, und in denselben Wunder wirkt."¹ Against Reitzenstein, Norden, Salomon, Reinach, Pfister and others who comprehended $\piνεϋμα$ only in its

¹Gunkel, Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes, p. 43.; cf., also Deissner who remarks that in Paul all weight is placed upon $\piνεϋμα$ "als Kraftquelle aller religiosen und sittlichen Wirken..." Cf., Kurt Deissner, Auferstehungshoffnung und Pneumagedanke bei Paulus. (Naumburg: G. Plaetz'sche Buchdruckerei, 1912), pp. 155f.; Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 105f.

Hellenistic-mystical meaning, Rood, who follows Gunkel, traces the $\kappa\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ - power concept back to Old Testament prophetic tradition.¹ Gunkel's original insight is most significant and must be kept in mind for it counter-balances the mystical emphasis represented in biblical-personalism² and keeps in check such tendencies as would weaken the sharpness of the Pauline $\kappa\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ -power usage in favor of existentialist terminology.³

Stalder develops the idea that whenever God makes Himself known to man, this is presented by Paul as a power-revelation by which the $\kappa\rho\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ becomes the sign of God's "Sieghaftigkeit."⁴ Rom. i. 20 is important for illustrating that $\delta\acute{o}\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ belongs to the essence

¹L. A. Rood, "Le Christ comme puissance de Dieu," Littérature et Théologie pauliniennes (Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960), p. 106.

² For an example of the extremes of this biblical-personalism see the work of Buechsel who declares that: "Wie ueberschauen die Aussagen des Paulus ueber seine Christusgemeinschaft sie ist immer persoenliche Gemeinschaft. Christus und Paulus werden nie miteinander identisch. Die persoenliche Unterschiedenheit bleibt gewahrt. Aber beide werden wirklich eins, und das nicht nur wie zwei Menschen, die sich lieben. Das hiesse, die besondere Bedeutung Jesu als des Sohnes Gottes, des Herrn, waere vergessen. Christus erfasst das Wollen, Denken, Empfinden des Paulus nicht wie ein Mensch von aussen her durch sinnliche oder geschichtliche Vermittlung, sondern unmittelbar, von innen her. Und Paulus hat sich Christus so geoffnet, dass er kein Wollen, Denken, Empfinden haben will als das von Christus in ihm gewirkte. Das heisst, Christus ist in Paulus, und Paulus ist in Christus." Friedrich Buechsel, Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1926), p. 302.

³Such is Schmidt's criticism of Schlier and others. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, EJ, XIV (1947), pp. 118f.

⁴Stalder, op. cit., pp. 32f.

of God's revelation of Himself to man.¹

God enacts the wonder of Christ's resurrection, according to Paul, διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ² and elsewhere by means of the πνεῦμα.³ The imagery of the indwelling πνεῦμα (I Cor. vi. 19) and the ἐκ' ἐμὲ ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Χριστοῦ (II Cor. xii. 9; cf., Gal. iii. 5) may be compared. Paul employs the antithesis σαρκικὰ - δυνατὰ (II Cor. x. 4) and also σαρκικὰ - πνευματικὰ (I Cor. ix. 11)⁴ apparently interchangeably. In II Cor. vi. 6, the phrases ἐν πνεύματι ἀγῶν and ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ may be paralleled.

Bertrams undoubtedly summarizes the position of modern scholarship in his statement that "...vollzogene Identifikation der Begriffe πνεῦμα und δύναμις nicht bestritten werden koennen."⁵

Our present task is to start from this assumption and to inquire into the significance of this identification by means of detailed exegesis. As we investigate the evidence, our attention will be focused only upon those passages in Paul where πνεῦμα is conceived of as a power which might reveal the apostle's presentation of victory over the demonic force of sin-possessed flesh.

¹Cf., Ibid., pp. 30-37.

²I Cor. vi. 14. Cf., II Cor. xiii. 4 ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ and Phil. iii. 10 γινῶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ.

³Rom. viii. 11.

⁴Cf., σαρκινός - πνευματικός I Cor iii. 1.

⁵Herman Bertrams, Das Wesen des Geistes nach der Anschauung des Apostels Paulus (Muenster: Aschendorff'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1913), p. 30.

πνεῦμα appears as the sign of God's wonder-working power in such passages as Rom. i. 3-4; viii. 9-11; xv. 19; Gal. iii. 5 and I Thess. i. 5.

Johannes Weiss was first to recognize the pre-Pauline character of Romans i. 3-4 in 1917. This section belongs to the type of early hymns which were meant to describe for the early church the meaning of the Saviour and his deeds.¹ The "Sitz im Leben" for verse 3 is probably to be found in the Jerusalem tradition.² Paul includes the phrase κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης as a modification of this more Jewish tradition by which there is added to the historical sphere (κατὰ σάρκα) "die eschatologische Neuschöpfung, das Geheimnis des wunderbaren Handelns Gottes."³ Michel suggests further that Paul has combined two hymns into one in order to present the Lordship of Christ over the two spheres of the human-historical (κατὰ σάρκα) and the divine-exalted (κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης).

¹Gottfried Schille, Fruehchristliche Hymnen (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), pp. 47ff. Unfortunately Schille's work is not widely known because it is published in the German East Zone and copies are not easily available.

²Cf., Acts ii. 22-24; 32-36; iii. 13-15; iv. 10-12. Cf., also Michel, "Exkurs: Zur Frage einer vor-paulinischen Berkenntnisformel in Roem. i. 3f." Der Brief an die Roemer (12 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 38f. For the literature on this section see p. 38 note 1. Cf., Klaus Wegenast, Das Verstaendnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in der Deuteropaulinen (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), pp. 70f.

³Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 38

He illustrates the antithetical parallelism thus:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. τοῦ γενομένου | 1. τοῦ ὀρισθέντος |
| 2. ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυὶδ | 2. ὑψοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει |
| 3. κατὰ σάρκα | 3. κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης |
| 4. ----- | 4. ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν |

The phrase ἐν δυνάμει may be compared with the inbreaking of the eschatological end-time and the exaltation of Jesus as reflected in Mark ix. 1.¹ According to Schweizer, the second, more Hellenistic hymn of Rom i. 4 may not only contrast two spheres, earthly-human-below and divine-exalted-above, but two aeons of present and future time.²

In this interpretation, κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης must not be understood as 'instrumental'³ or else the antithetical parallel κατὰ σάρκα would not make sense. One must paraphrase here: "In der Sphaere des Fleisches — in der Sphaere des heiligen Gottesgeistes."⁴

¹Kuss, op. cit., p. 8.

²He cites Gal. iv. 26f. as an example of how the concepts of present-future aeons and lower-upper worlds were both thought of in one passage. By New Testament times, states Schweizer, the "vertical" idea of the lower-upper worlds became mixed with the "horizontal" present-future aeons imagery. This probably came about through the influence of late Jewish apocalyptic thinking. Cf., "Roem. 1, 3f. und der Gegensatz von Fleisch und Geist vor und bei Paulus," Neotestamentica, pp. 185f.

³Ernst Gaugler, Der Brief an die Roemer (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1952), pp. 23f.

⁴Further support for this view is gained when one compares the hymns of I Tim. iii. 16f. and I Pet. iii. 18f. where σὰρξ and πνεῦμα represent two spheres sharply opposed. Cf., for detailed argument Schweizer, Neotestamentica, pp. 186f. Cf., also the discussion of Rom. i. 3f. in Hahn where he concludes that "σὰρξ und πνεῦμα sind in dieser Formel als Bezeichnungen[sic] der irdischen und himmlischen Sphaere verwendet." Ferdinand Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1963), pp. 253f.

These two hymns represent a "Zweistufenchristologie" by which the birth of Jesus (γενομένου v. 3) represents entrance into the earthly sphere and ὁρισθέντος (v. 4) announces the heavenly enthronement.¹ The resurrection is the "Wendepunkt zwischen Niedrigkeit und Hoheit Jesu."² πνεῦμα in this passage is identified with the sphere of divine power and with God's mighty acts of salvation through Christ.

Dibelius regards Rom. viii. 9-11 as the key to understanding the Pauline doctrine of spirit-power.³ "Weil Christus kam, ist etwas Neues da; es wirkt sich aus in Werwandlung in Leben in Freiheit und Unmittelbarkeit zu Gott."⁴ Here in this passage πνεῦμα θεοῦ, πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ, and Χριστός ἐν ὑμῖν, πνεῦμα ζωῆς and τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγγέλαντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ νεκρῶν, are all paralleled. The spirit-power is identified with the works and person of Jesus Christ. The ἐνοικοῦσα ἐν ἡμῖν ἁμαρτία (Rom. vii. 17, 20) is counteracted by the πνεῦμα -power of God διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν (Rom. viii. 11). To be "in Christ" and to have the spirit of Christ "in me" is taken by most exegetes as designating the same thing. Both phrases describe belonging

¹The scheme of Ihil. ii. 6ff. may not be compared with Rom. i. 3f. because the assumption of a pre-existent Christology is not explicitly present in the latter hymn. There is no evidence here in Rom. i. 3-4 of a "Ring-Komposition" whereby the Saviour leaves the heavenly sphere for the earthly and then returns in exaltation and victory. Cf., Schille, op. cit., pp. 47 ff.

²Hahn, op. cit., pp. 257f.

³Martin Dibelius, "Der Herr und der Geist bei Paulus," Botschaft und Geschichte, II (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1956), pp. 131f.

⁴Ibid., p. 132,

to the sphere of holiness which is beyond the reach of sin's demonic power.¹

In Rom. xv. 19 the great words and deeds are enacted in Paul's missionary work both ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων and ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος . Gal. iii. 5 equates the ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα and ἐνεργῶν δυνάμεις ἐν ὑμῖν; and in I Thess. i. 5 the gospel came ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.

From these references it becomes clear that πνεῦμα designates "uebernaturliche Kraft zu besonderen Wundertaten," whereby the power of the spirit may be compared with the mighty works of Christ in the world.²

Not only does πνεῦμα designate the wonder-working, divine revelation but it is also to be identified with the power-world of God as opposed to the weakness of man.

The statement of I Cor. ii. 4 must be understood against the background of Gnostic agitators whom Paul challenges in the Corinthian correspondence.³ The possession of the spirit was considered so important to these Gnostic opponents of Paul that we notice from I Cor. xv. how they were led to deny the relevance or importance of

¹Gaugler, op. cit., pp. 273f.; Althaus, Der Brief an die Roemer, pp. 77f.; Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1932), p. 124.

²Eduard Schweizer, "Geist und Gemeinde im Neuen Testament und Heute," Theologische Existenz Heute, Neue Folge, XXII (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), p. 6.

³Cf. W. G. Kuemmel, Einleitung in das Neue Testament, Feine-Behm (12 Auflage; Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1963), pp. 200f.; Willi Marxsen, Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Guetersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1963), pp. 71f. Schmithals, op. cit., pp. 34f. Cf., supra, p. 69, n. 2.

the future resurrection hope. This Gnostic type of thinking made it necessary for Paul to stress the weakness of the cross as the $\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (i. 18). In that Christ was proclaimed as divine wisdom and power, Paul counteracted the Gnostic belief that the gift of the spirit became the possession of the elite ecstatic. Paul argues that spirit-power is not a reward for man's strength but the gift of God, completely from outside the earthly sphere, proclaimed through the foolishness of the cross: "Indem nun die Christen sind, sind sie 'in ihm' -und d.h. in seiner Schwachheit schwach; aber sie werden mit ihm leben aufgrund der Macht Gottes."¹ The spirit-power is grounded in a sphere completely independent of man's ability to secure it. Therefore, within this context one can understand the radical contrast between the human sphere $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ and the divine sphere $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\epsilon\iota\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ of I Cor. ii. 4.²

In I Cor. v. 3f. Paul presents the conquest of the flesh in somewhat different language. Most exegetes regard $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\tilde{\omega}\ \sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}$ (v. 5) as a form of limited excommunication.³ Héring suggests that in v. 4 there is implied a

¹Wilckens, op. cit., p. 49. Cf., supra, p. 72, n. 2.

²Cf. $\tau\omicron\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$
 $\tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\chi\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ I Cor. ii. 12.

³Werner Meyer, Der erste Brief an die Korinther (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1945), p. 173; Lietzmann, An die Korinther, I-II (vierte von W. G. Kuemmel ergaenzte Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1949), pp. 23f.; Schlatter, Die Korintherbriefe (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1950), pp. 74f.; E. B. Allo, Saint Paul première épître aux Corinthiens (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1956), pp. 123ff.

rite of exorcism similar to the curse of v. 5.¹ Deissmann cites a parallel to I Cor. v. 5 in the London Magical Papyrus 46 which is reminiscent of the ancient custom of execration or devoting a person to the gods of the lower world.² The strength of Deissmann's insight is enhanced when we recall that ancient curses usually contained two elements: a calling upon the power by which the subject is cursed, and the curse itself. According to Dibelius, συναχθέντων (v. 4) and παραδοῦναι (v. 5) introduce these two respective parts of the ancient curse formula.³ The phrases ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου and οὖν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου are reminiscent of ancient magical belief in the power which the saying of the name holds over the one who is being cursed.⁴

Bousset also states that I Cor. v. 4 portrays a mystical power of the gathered community ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου and that

¹ Jean Héring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, trans. A. W. Heathcote and P. J. Allcock (London: The Epworth Press, 1962), p. 35.

² Deissmann, Light from the Ancient East, trans. Lionel Strachan from the 4th ed., 1914 (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1927), p. 302. νεκροδαίμων. . . παραδίδωμι σοι τὸν δ(εῖνα) ὅπως . . . Deissmann explains that although this papyrus dates from the 4th century A.D., the formula itself is ancient.

³ Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, p. 40. For examples of ancient curse forms see the literature cited by Dibelius pp. 38-43. Cf., Lietzmann, An Die Korinther I - II, p. 23.

⁴ Cf., Bietenhard art. ὄνομα TWNT, V, pp. 250ff., 272ff. For the magical power of God's name cf., Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, p. 135. Heitmüller claims that in baptism one recited a formula calling on the name-power of the Lord, pp. 127ff. Cf., C. K. Barrett, The New Testament Background: Selected Documents (London: SPCK, 1961), pp. 31ff.

v. 5 is to be understood as a mystical death of the person in their midst.¹ However, the context of I Cor. v. 9-12 and the quotations from Deut. xvii. 7, and xxii. 24 may include both ideas of mystical death and excommunication. This is no ordinary excommunication for it wishes for the sinner salvation and a new being and is not focused toward a purification of the church as a goal in itself.² παραδοῦναι τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός does not mean an ultimate destruction, for Satan could not destroy ultimately; his power is delegated and he can only have influence over the realm of σάρξ.³ If II Cor. ii. 5-11 makes reference to the same situation in I Cor. v. 3f., as Sickenberger believes, then the redemptive purpose of this excommunication is again made vivid.⁴

Although I Cor. v. 3f. is unique and not exactly normative for Paul, in this passage we are presented with some instructive insights. In this context, sin-possessed σάρξ is spoken of within the framework of magical formulae usually reserved for dealing with demon possession. The offender has evidently allowed his sin to take possession; he is therefore in danger of destruction by the demonic

¹Bousset, Der erste Brief an die Korinther (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917), p. 94f.

²Karl Heim, Die Gemeinde des Auferstandenen, Tuebingen Vorlesungen ueber den I Korintherbrief (Muenchen: Neubau Verlag, 1949), pp. 66f.

³Philipp Bachmann, Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1905), p. 218.
Georg Heinrici, Das Sendschreiben des Apostel Paulus an die Korinther (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz, 1880), pp. 163ff.

⁴Joseph Sickenberger, Die Briefe des heiligen Paulus an die Korinther und Roemer (4 Auflage; Bonn: Peter Honstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932), pp. 25f.

powers of darkness. However, despite the obscurities of this passage, we can say that the victory of those who are "in Christ" is here illustrated in that Satan's realm is limited and subject to the power of God ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ χριστοῦ . Sin's demonic (v. 5) and defiling nature (v. 6) is counteracted by the power of the "name" of Christ the Lord who is the medium of God's wonder-working power. Although this power is not identical with the spirit in I Cor. v. 3f., we may look to the passage in I Cor. vi. 11 where ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου and ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ are paralleled in a formal creedal structure.

The power of the name in I Cor. vi. 11 is couched in the language of baptism.¹ Heitmüller affirms that in baptism "in" (ἐν) and "into" (εἰς)² the name of Jesus "...ist mit Sicherheit zu folgern, dass die Form nicht die der betenden anrede an Jesus, sondern ein Nennen, Ausrufen des Namens Jesus war,"³ which had the meaning of identification with the divine power of God through Christ. There is reason to believe that the one being baptized called on the name of the Lord and also that an invocation of the ὄνομα was given over the one being baptized.⁴

¹Bultmann, NTT, I, pp. 136f.; Moffatt, The First Epistle to the Corinthians. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), pp. 66f.; W. Meyer, Der erste Brief an die Korinther, p. 211.

²Cf., Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27.

³Heitmüller, Im Namen Jesu, p. 127.

⁴Cf., Cullmann, The Earliest Christian Confessions, trans. J. K. S. Reid (London: Lutterworth Press, 1949), pp. 35f.

Cullmann points out that in earliest times the baptismal liturgies included only single and double membered declarations¹ and only later is the tripartite confession to be found.²

It is our contention that I Cor. vi. 11 recalls this type of early baptismal confession which had not yet attained the trinitarian structure.³

In favor of this conclusion Lietzmann notes how ἡμεῖς ἦμεν and ἐδουλώθητε duplicate the baptismal language of Romans vi. 13-19.⁴ Also the contrast of the new aeon with the old before baptism is presupposed in I Cor. vi. 11,⁵ and this is also the case with Rom. vi. 1ff.⁶ The catalogue of vices in I Cor. vi. 9ff. describes ~~live~~^{life} in this old age before identification with Christ,⁷ and further verifies that this passage is traditional material.

¹Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; x. 48; xix. 5; I Cor. i. 13; Gal. iii. 2. Ibid., pp. 35f.

²Matt. xxviii. 19. For detailed argument cf., Ibid., pp. 35f.; Stauffer, NTT, p. 236.

³It is not legitimate to reject the idea of a baptismal formula in this passage only because the trinitarian cadence is missing. This is the reasoning behind the rejection by A. Robertson and A. Plummer, The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1914), p. 120.

⁴Lietzmann, An die Korinther I-II, p. 27.

⁵Schrage, Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paraenese, pp. 15, 31, 33, 188.

⁶Kuss, op. cit., p. 293.

⁷Lietzmann, An die Korinther I-II, p. 26, Schrage, op. cit., p. 189.

The literary structure of I Cor. vi. 11 is most striking in its parallelism:

ἀλλὰ ἀπελούσασθε

ἀλλὰ ἡγιασθήτε

ἀλλὰ ἐδικαιώθητε

ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου (ἡμῶν) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ¹
καὶ

ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν

If we are correct to see traces of a pre-Fauline, baptismal, liturgical formula in I Cor. vi. 11, then an identification of Christ with the spirit-power is not a parenthesis but most basic to the early Christian kerygma. Gal. iii. 3, 5 and I Cor. xii. 13 again refer to the spirit-power received at baptism,² and describe in antithetical terminology the two power spheres of σὰρξ - πνεῦμα . πνεῦμα is never presented in Paul as a magical power in its own right but is connected at all times with the miracle-working power of God. Therefore, Gal. iii. 5 describes the God who ἐπιχορηγῶν ὑμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἐνεργῶν δυνάμει ἐν ὑμῖν. πνεῦμα is both the "Kraft, die Glauben schafft, zugleich auch Norm wird, nach der der Glaube lebt."³ πνεῦμα is God's gift of power (Gal. v. 18 εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε). But it is also a standard by which men must continue to live. This "Doppelheit"

¹The exact reading at this point is not clear. Even if the above represents an interpolation of the text, the possibility that this verse could have been used as a baptismal formula is not seriously affected. The reading ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ also stands parallel with ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν although it is not as exact.

²Cf. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 82.

³Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, pp. 425f.

must be held in tension as it is in Paul (Gal. v. 25 $\epsilon\iota\ \chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$
 $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$, $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$).

We have sufficient evidence for supposing that the counter force to the world of sin-possessed $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\varsigma$ is the power of God made available to the Christian through the victorious Christ and the calling upon the "name" of the Lord.¹

$\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ as life-giving power.²---In the Old Testament doctrine of the spirit there is a close relationship between spirit-power and the creative power of God represented in Gen. i. 2.³ This idea of the spirit is that of a life creating force which brings order out of chaos.⁴ In Gal. vi. 8; Rom. viii. 2, 6, 10, 11, 13; I Cor. xv. 45; II Cor. iii. 3, Paul seems to be implying this same concept of a life-giving, spirit-power.⁵ The life-giving power is for the Christian a cosmic event; A "Schoepfermacht und Erloesungsnade...⁶⁴Krue~~z~~ und Auferstehung sind ihm ein Weltereignis. Wer daran glaubt, ist ausgesondert, hat den Geist empfangen, um das voellig neue Leben des kommenden Reiches

¹Cf., Ingo Hermann where the spirit is seen as the "Beginn der Eschata" through Christ. Kyrios und Pneuma, Studien zur Christologie der paulinischen Hauptbriefe (Muenchen: Koesel Verlag, 1961), p. 32.

²A more comprehensive discussion of the spirit and God's creation power follows in Chapter IX.

³Cf., Alphonsus Benson, The Spirit of God in the Didactic Books of the Old Testament (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949), pp. 58ff.

⁴Paul van Imschoot, "L'Esprit de Javé, source de vie dans l'Ancien Testament," Revue Biblique, XIV (1935), pp. 501, 490ff.

⁵Cf., Peter Blaaser, "Lebendigmachender Geist, ein Beitrag zur Frage nach den Quellen der paulinischen Theologie," Sacra Pagina, II (1959), p. 408.

zu leben. Er ist Schoepfung der neuen Zeit."¹

Late Jewish theology gives evidence of expecting the Messiah to be endowed with a divine, spirit-power likened to that exhibited at the first creation.² Adam and Christ therefore represent "zwei goettliche Schoepfungsakte."³

In Gal. v. 24 οὗ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ is an expression of an "ontisch-sakramentalen Zugehoerigkeit zu Christus Jesus"⁴ and may be compared with the phrases ἐν Χριστῷ of iii. 26, 28, Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν of iv. 19, and Χριστὸν ἐνδόξασθε of iii. 27. The phrase τὴν οὐρανὴν ἐσταύρωσαν (Gal. v. 24), because it is in a traditional "parenthesis" context, may reflect a baptismal catechesis. The life-power of the spirit (v. 25) is God's gift through the sacrament.⁵

This chapter's first section has shown that one finds in Pauline theology in some early liturgical passages at least implicit connections between spirit-power and the person of Jesus who was the incarnation of the divine, wonder-working power into this earthly sphere. In the following section we will treat those passages of Paul where connections

¹Herbert Freisker, Geist und Leben, Das Telos-Ethos des Urchristentums (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1933), p. 151.

²Robert Koch, Geist und Messias (Wien: Verlag Herder, 1950), pp. 83f.

³Paul Althaus, "Das Bild Gottes bei Paulus," Theologische Blätter, XX (1949), p. 88.

⁴Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 193.

⁵Cf., Rom. vi. 6 ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος συνεσταύρωθη. Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 193.; Oepke, op. cit., p. 143.; Bornkamm, Wort und Dienst, II (1950), p. 27.

between the spirit-power and the incarnation are made more explicit.

B. The Spirit-Power and the Incarnation

The opponents of Paul in II Corinthians.---We have already mentioned the Gnostic opponents ^{whom} ~~which~~ Paul confronted in the I Corinthian correspondence. However, the situation of II Corinthians is somewhat different. From Baur to Windisch (1866-1924) it was generally assumed that these opponents of II Corinthians were Judaizers or representatives of the Petrine party of the Jerusalem church. The fact that there is no trace of the characteristic Jewish demands and the lack of the Pauline theme of justification by faith speaks against this theory.

Reitzenstein, Luetgert, Dinkler, Bultmann, and Schmithals have supposed for II Corinthians the same Gnostic heresy encountered in I Corinthians; but Kaesemann has shown the un-Gnostic character of these opponents.¹ Recently Georgi² and Bornkamm³ have identified these opponents with Jewish-Christian, wandering preachers who act like those known to us from the literature of other parts of the Greek thought world.⁴ We outline briefly some of the most important

¹ Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Die Legitimität des Apostels," ZNW, XLI (1942), pp. 13ff.

² Dieter Georgi, Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 11, herausgegeben von Guenther Bornkamm und Gerhard von Rad (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964), passim.

³ Guenther Bornkamm, Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1961), pp. 10ff.

⁴ The characteristic quality of these Hellenistic wandering preachers is their claim to special power and mighty works and signs. Cf., Ludwig Bieler, Θεός ὁ ὄντως: Das Bild des 'göttlichen Mensch' in Spätantike und Frühehrentum (Wien: Buchhandlung Oskar Hoefels, 1935), pp. 80ff. et passim; Georgi, op. cit., pp. 192-200.

arguments by Georgi and Bornkamm which favor this position:

1. The opponents possessed spiritual gifts and wonder-working powers of visions, ecstasy and tongues which was their idea of the necessary credentials for "superlative apostles."
2. Paul uses the phrase ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων twice in irony almost as though it were some kind of formal title (II Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11).
3. These "apostles" evidently come from outside the Corinthian Church for they possess mysterious "letters of recommendation," (II Cor. iii. 1; x. 12ff.; xi. 4, 22ff.).¹
4. That these wandering apostles were known in early Christendom is attested by the Didache xi. 3ff. where the means of distinguishing between true and false apostles is spelled out.
5. Because these "apostles" preach another gospel, they bring a new, foreign spirit (II Cor. xi. 4), with mysterious revelations (II Cor. xii. 1ff.) and dubious methods which have falsified the true gospel (II Cor. ii. 17; iv. 2).
6. Paul must defend himself on the grounds of having "legitimacy" (δοκιμήν II Cor. xiii. 3)² as an apostle in the light of the claims that Paul has none of the peculiar wonder-signs of power which one would expect for the office of apostleship.

¹From the fact that these opponents claimed to be "Hebrews" (II Cor. xi. 22) and possessed "letters of recommendation," it does not follow that this meant they had the endorsement of the Jerusalem church. Schmithals remarks that in II Cor. xi. 22 Paul says Ἑβραῖοι and not Ἰουδαῖοι which probably indicates these were diaspora Jews. It is certain from the contents of the II Corinthian letter itself that these opponents can not be compared with the Judaizers of Galatians. Op. cit., pp. 35ff.

²Cf., Walter Schmithals, Das Kirchliche Apostelamt (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 22ff., 30ff., et passim.

There is much to be commended in this new thesis even though we must be brief in our analysis of the argument.¹ Friedrich illustrates some quite valuable results for exegesis in starting from the ~~Georgi-~~^{ERG!} Bornkamm position.²

For the purposes of our study we shall accept the validity of the Georgi-Bornkamm hypothesis as that which makes the most sense of the evidence and offers the best solution now available for identifying the opponents of Paul in II Corinthians.

The spirit-power and early Christian "Enthusiasmus."...Ernst Kaesemann, in an important article, "Geist und Geist Gaben,"³ explains how it became necessary for Paul to identify the spirit-power exclusively with the person of Christ. The Gnostic heretics in I Corinthians overemphasized the importance of spirit-possession so that the historical character of the gospel was in danger of being displaced by "Enthusiasmus."⁴ We recall how in I Cor. i. 18 Paul responds to this same type of threat: "Wenn I K 1, 18 das Evangelium als λόγος ὁ τοῦ σταυροῦ bezeichnet ist (vgl. 1, 24), so wird damit der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums nur vollstaendig deutlich."⁵ Paul declares that Jesus himself

¹For the full details of., Bornkamm, Die Vorgeschichte des sogenannten Zweiten Korintherbriefes, pp. 10-16. Georgi, op. cit., pp. 219-300.

²Gerhard Friedrich, "Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief," Abraham unser Vater, Festschrift fuer Otto Michel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), pp. 181ff.

³RGG, II (dritte Auflage), cols. 1272-1279.

⁴Cf., the art. "Enthusiasmus," RGG, II (dritte Auflage), cols. 495-496. "Enthusiasmus" is characterized by claims of spirit possession and "unmittelbarer Gotterfuelltheit" (ἐνθεος) as the media salutis. This trait also finds expression in various established religions of the Hellenistic thought world. It must be remembered that "Die Abgrenzung des Enthusiasmus ist nicht mit letzter Sicherheit vorzunehmen." Yet characteristics of this "Enthusiasmus" may be perceived in the New Testament.

⁵Grundmann, art. δδναμικ TWNT, II, p. 310.

"...ist der Traeger dieser [πνεῦμα] goettlichen Substanz..."¹

The historicity of the gospel and the all-sufficiency of Christ were in need of protection from an extreme mysticism and overemphasis on the present experience of the spirit.

In I Corinthians the Gnostics made claims of spirit-possession as did also the "θεῖος - ἄνθρωπος missionaries"² of II Corinthians. Both heresies express the same qualities of Hellenistic "Enthusiasmus."

Presuppositions for an exegesis of II Cor. iii. 17a.---It has been the purpose of some exegetes to see in the Pauline phrase ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστίν grounds for assuming that the apostle here presents the basis for a trinitarian formula. Two Roman Catholic scholars, Stalder and Fruemm, are among the latest representatives of this position.³

Most modern scholarship has objected to this interpretation. Schweizer remarks how πνεῦμα appears many times in an impersonal manner (e.g. I Cor. xii. 12; I Thess. v. 19) and may be interchanged with σοφία or δύναμις (I Cor. ii. 4f.): "Die Frage nach der Personalitaet des πνεῦμα duerfte falsch sein, schon weil es dieses Wort weder hebraeisch noch griechisch gibt. Paulus teilt mit dem

¹ Eduard Schweizer, "Geist und Gemeinde im Neuen Testament und Heute," pp. 17f.

² Although it is inadequate, this term will be used for the purposes of our study to describe these "superlative apostles" of II Corinthians in order to distinguish them from the Gnostic heresy of I Corinthians.

³ Stalder, op. cit., pp. 50ff.; Karl Fruemm, Διακονία Πνεύματος, Theologie des Zweiten Korintherbriefes (Freiburg: Herder Verlag, 1960), pp. 424f., 431f. Cf. also Paul Gaechter, "Zum Pneumabegriff des hl. Paulus," Zeitschrift fuer katholische Theologie, LIII (1929), pp. 405ff.

Judentum und der fruhen christlichen Gemeinde die Anschauung vom πνεῦμα als der Gabe und Kraft der Endzeit."¹ θεός, κύριος and πνεῦμα are closely related in Paul because they encounter the believer in the single event of the incarnation.²

Foerster, in his book Herr ist Jesus,³ picks up the insight of Bousset who identified κύριος with πνεῦμα and illustrates how κύριος is never used merely as a title but signifies also one who has the power or right to rule. πνεῦμα, δυνάμις and κύριος portray in the Rom. i. 3-4 creed the exaltedness and power of Christ's incarnation and exaltation. Therefore, Bertrams is right in assessing this exalted Christ as "die Verkoerperung des πνεῦμα."⁴ In this connection one should compare two other hymns (I Tim. iii. 16; I Pet. iii. 18) which emphasize the incarnation as an invasion of the divine πνεῦμα into the σὰρξ sphere. The common truth in this identification of Christ with πνεῦμα is not so much a portrayal of "godly nature" and "personality" as it is the manifestation of divine δυνάμις.⁵

Paul in II Cor. iii. 17 identifies the spirit with Christ out of necessity, in the face of heretical teachings of the "θεῖος - ἀνὴρ missionaries" and early Christian "Enthusiasmus." Neugebauer emphasizes

¹ Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, p. 432.

² Cf., Rom. v. 1-5; Gal. iv. 4-6.

³ (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1924), passim.

⁴ Bertrams, op. cit., p. 159.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 104f.

how Paul "historicizes" and "localizes" the gift of the spirit in the incarnation event of Christ: "Pneumatologie wurde so zur aktualisierten Christologie. Der Geist kann nicht mehr wirken, als was Christus schon immer gewirkt hat; die Gabe des πνεῦμα verlangt denselben Gehorsam wie das Gegenueber zum κύριος ...der Geist bedeutet fuer Paulus Gabe und Aufgabe zugleich."¹

The spirit, as in the Old Testament, Stoicism and Philo, has cosmic dimensions as "der stofflich vorgestellte, die ganze Schoepfung durchwaltende Hauch als goettliches Prinzip..."; and in Paul "Der Geist steht in fester unloesbarer Beziehung zu dem im Fleisch erschienenen Christus, der in der Geschichte kund geworden ist."² On these grounds of identifying the spirit-power with the incarnation we may here be prepared to entertain the idea of a "Cosmic Christology" in the undisputed epistles of Paul.

An exegetical study of II Cor. iii. 17a.---Goettesberger³ presents a short survey of scholarship on the various interpretations of ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ἐστίν in II Cor. iii. 17a. Traditionally, most of exegesis falls within two categories of interpretation.

The first group of scholars would state generally that τὸ πνεῦμα is meant to designate a sort of "spiritual quality" of Christ over against the "letter" (iii. 3, 6) of the old covenant (iii. 14).

¹Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 63. Cf., supra, p. 52, n. 4.

²Gottlob Schrenk, "Geist und Enthusiasmus," Studien zu Paulus (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1954), p. 117.

³J. Goettesberger, "Die Huelle des Moses nach Ex. xxxiv. 34 und II Cor. iii," Biblische Zeitschrift, XVI (1924), pp. 14ff. Cf., also Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, p. 416, n. 566.

Allo and Frat are typical of this view.¹ Strachan² and van Unnik³ follow this vague line for both agree that ὁ κύριος means τὸ πνεῦμα. A "Christ-mysticism"⁴ is the unfortunate hallmark of many who thus interpret our passage.⁵

Two factors throw into disfavor this almost adjectival interpretation of τὸ πνεῦμα as the "spiritual quality" of Christ. First of all, πνεῦμα with the article is placed in grammatical parallelism with the noun ὁ κύριος. However, most important, it is precisely this lack of emphasis on the historical Christ in favor of the mystical πνεῦμα - "quality" which Paul was opposing in the Corinthian "Enthusiasmus." It is therefore most unlikely that the apostle would be describing Christ as "spiritual quality." He is rather defining the spiritual sphere in terms of the historical revelation of Jesus. Therefore, Wendland is correct to state: "Vielmehr hat der Geist-Glaube des Paulus seinen Grund in seinem Christus-Glauben und ist eben in dieser seiner Gebundenheit etwas ganz Anderes als die sonstigen

¹For a refutation of this position cf., Johannes Schildenberger, "II Kor. iii. 17a: 'Der Herr aber ist der Geist', in Zusammenhang des Textes und der Theologie des Hl. Paulus," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, I, pp. 451ff.

²R. H. Strachan, The Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), pp. 88f.

³W. C. van Unnik, "With unveiled face", an exegesis of II Corinthians iii. 12-18," XAPIE KAI ZOΨIA, Festschrift fuer Karl Heinrich Rengstorf (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964), p. 165.

⁴Bousset, Kyrios Christos (2 Auflage), pp. 120f.

⁵Such obscure phrases as "Christ transforms the inner life" are little help in pinning down the precise meaning of II Cor. iii. 17a. Robertson-Flummer, *op. cit.*, p. 103. Schlatter's words are similar to this. Cf., Schlatter, Die Korintherbriefe (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1950), pp. 253f.

religioesen Geist-Lehren jener Zeit."¹

The second interpretation,² on the other hand, makes too much of the two nouns, ὁ κύριος and τὸ πνεῦμα to declare the full identity of two personalities and the basis for a trinitarian doctrine. The trouble with this position is that the two phrases τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου (iii. 17) and ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος (iii. 18) upset the clear-cut Person-Person balance of iii. 17a. It is also difficult to obtain from iii. 17a. a Person-Person relationship in the trinitarian sense for other reasons.

Lietzmann states that " κύριος (als Person) aber ist (als Substanz) das πνεῦμα ";³ and we may accept this view after a closer look at the Corinthian situation. Schweizer has already shown that Paul makes use of a Hellenistic nuance when in II Cor. iii. 17a he describes πνεῦμα as the "himmlische Sphaere oder ihre Substanz."⁴ Since Paul is speaking to a Hellenistically oriented "Enthusiasmus" it seems logical that he would be saying in his correction of their spirit doctrine that the spirit (as substance, not personality) is the κύριος

In an excellent discussion, Kramer remarks how I Cor. xii. 3 in giving a criterion for discerning the evil and divine of spirit-power assumes that κύριος belongs fully to the "Pneumasphaere" (ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ).⁵

¹ H. D. Wendland, Die Briefe an die Korinther (7 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954), p. 159.

² Cf., supra, p. 186, n. 3.

³ Lietzmann, op. cit., p. 113.

⁴ Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, pp. 414f.

⁵ Werner Kramer, Christos Kyrios Gottessohn, Untersuchungen zu Gebrauch und Bedeutung der christologischen Bezeichnungen bei Paulus und den vorpaulinischen Gemeinden, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, herausgegeben von W. Eichrodt und O. Cullmann, 44 (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1963), p. 165.

I Cor. vi. 17 presupposes also that the believer and the *κύριος* are united in this "Pneumasphaere". Our best explanation for the nature of the connection between *κύριος* and *πνεῦμα* in this much disputed verse may be to consider Kramer's conclusion:

Der Kyrios gehoert ganz und gar der Sphaere des Pneumas an...Wer es mit dem Kyrios zu tun hat, der hat es gewiss mit dem Pneuma zu tun, und wer es wirklich mit dem Pneuma zu tun hat, der hat es mit dem Kyrios zu tun. Auf Grund dieses Sachverhaltes ist die Identifizierung von Kyrios und Pneuma als Grenzaussage moeglich.¹

We would be well advised, therefore, to start from the premise of this identification of Christ with the spirit-power rather than to engage in speculation over "der Persoenlichkeit des *πνεῦμα*."² This sphere of the divine *πνεῦμα* and *δόξα* (iii. 18) is an "eschatologische Wirklichkeit" made historical in our *σῶρξ*-sphere by the incarnation of Jesus.³ The creative spirit-power of God⁴ is directed through the historical Jesus, the divine agent of the new covenant.⁵ By making the *κύριος* the standard for correctly understanding the power of the spirit (I Cor. xii. 2ff.; II Cor. iii. 17a) Paul defines the *πνεῦμα* in historical rather than mystical terms.⁶

¹ Ibid., p. 164.

² Bertrams, op. cit., pp. 30ff.

³ Hermann, op. cit., p. 57.

⁴ Dibelius, "Der Herr und der Geist bei Paulus," Botschaft und Geschichte, II, pp. 131f.

⁵ Schrenk, op. cit., p. 123.;

⁶ Against Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. William Montgomery (London: A. and C. Black, 1931), pp. 3ff. et passim.

The spirit-power and the new aeon of Christ.---Friedrich starts from the Georgi-Bornkamm thesis and draws out further parallels between the II Corinthian opponents and what he calls the Stephen group of early Hellenistic Judaism.¹ He remarks that not only are the Stephen and θεῖος - ἀνὴρ types of missionaries alike in their ability to work powerful signs (Acts vi. 8) but Moses is held in high esteem in both the Acts vi speech of Stephen and in the II Corinthian heresy. In the apostle's thinking what Jesus did in the role of saviour is much more important than what he taught as though he were a second Moses.

In resisting the challenge presented in II Corinthians, there is asserted a most necessary emphasis on the shift of the aeons as a correction to the second Moses Christology.² Paul contrasts διακονία τοῦ θανάτου (iii. 7) with ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος (iii. 8).³ ἡ διακονία τῆς κατακρίσεως is set over against ἡ διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης as is δόξα in both iii. 7, 8 and 9a, 9b. πολλῶς μᾶλλον (vs. 9) is used here and elsewhere in Paul (Rom. v. 15, 17) within the context of aeon theology. Christ now belongs to another sphere, argues Paul; he is known no longer κατὰ σάρκα (II Cor. v. 16) for the new age has come (vs. 17). The power of God through Christ takes its origin in that which is completely other than the human. (II Cor. iv. 7).

In this section we have attempted to illustrate that the incarnation as seen from the cross, resurrection and exaltation is for Paul the inbreaking of spirit-power and the beginning of the new age.

¹ Friedrich, in Abraham unser Vater, pp. 195ff. et passim.

² Ibid., pp. 204ff.

³ Cf., II Cor. xi. 15 where the opponents are also called the δῖάκονοι of Satan.

C. "In Christ" as a Sphere of Spirit-Power

Spirit-power and the Pauline usage of ἐν .---The preposition ἐν occurs more than any other in the New Testament and it occurs in the undisputed epistles of Paul 656 times, more than any other preposition used by the apostle.¹ It appears in such a variety of expressions and situations as to defy general definitions of its usage. Even if ἐν reflects the Hebrew preposition ל, we are given little assistance because of the many uses this Semitic counterpart may have.² Neugebauer's discussion of the problem only points to general guidelines when he favors the instrumental idea that ἐν designates that "unter denen etwas ist oder geschieht"³ (Cf., I Thess. iv. 16). According to Neugebauer, Paul follows the "dynamisch-zeitlich-geschichtlichen Grundstruktur des hebraeischen Denkens"⁴ which leaves little room for a Christ-mysticism as has often been the interpretation of ἐν Χριστῷ by past scholarship:

Christus ist verstanden als Heilsgeschehen. Sicher ist Christus eine Person, aber diese Person ist von Paulus als eschatologische Heilstat Gottes interpretiert. Dieses Verstaendnis aber laesst sich kaum mit der Christologie der Mystik, die von der Vorstellung der pneumatischen Persoenlichkeit lebt, auf einen Nenner bringen.⁵

When the apostle employs ἐν with persons in the dative it is a "Bezeichnung der engen Zusammengehoeerigkeit."⁶

¹Cf. Robert Morgenthaler, Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes (Zuerich: Gotthelf Verlag, 1958), pp. 14, 160.

²Brown, Driver, Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 88f.

³Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 38. Cf., Teil II, A. "Zum Paulinischen ἐν -Gebrauch," pp. 34-44 for a full discussion.

⁴Ibid., p. 41.

⁵Ibid., p. 55.

⁶Albrecht Oepke, art. ἐν TWNT, II, p. 535.

The nature of this "Zusammengehörigkeit" will require our special attention by exegesis of the Pauline passages involved.

The sphere of holiness.---In Rom. viii. 1f. we discover how Christ's incarnation into the realm of the human meant the defeat of $\sigma\delta\phi\tilde{\alpha}$ on its own ground.¹ Here in v. 3 $\pi\acute{\sigma}\mu\psi\alpha\varsigma$ is a variation of an early traditional formula also in Gal. iv. 4f. where a pre-existent christology is assumed.²

Unlike the gospel accounts, in Paul, the incarnation, the mere appearance of Jesus on the scene, is not enough to dispel the demon forces. Bieler³ shows how the encounters of Jesus with the demons, in the Synoptics, are similar to the language of the ancient "wonder-man" traditions. This is not the picture one gets from Paul; and this is especially so if we remember that the $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ - $\delta\omega\eta\rho$ type of heresy is what the apostle is opposing in II Corinthians. For Paul the historical lowliness and obedience of Jesus⁴ were prerequisites to the exaltation and giving of the spirit-power. Christ's obedience (Phil. ii. 8) and sinlessness (II Cor. v. 21) are for Paul essential elements in the divine program of victory over sinful flesh; "Hier dringt das Leben des neuen Aeons so mächtig herein, dass hinfort alle, die diesem nachziehen, auch in der Welt des Lebens stehen. 'In Christus' ist Boden, der nicht mehr der Sünde gehoert."⁵

¹Schlatter, Gottes Gerechtigkeit (dritte Auflage; Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1959), pp. 257f.

²Kramer, op. cit., pp. 109ff.

³Cf., supra, p. 183, n. 4; Bieler, op. cit., pp. 80ff.

⁴Cf., Phil. ii. 5f.

⁵Gaugler, op. cit., p. 263.

The Son being "sent" (πέμψας, Rom. viii. 3; ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν Gal. iv. 4) from the pre-existent to the enemy-occupied territory of the σάρξ sphere reasserts the power of life-giving spirit (Rom. viii. 2, 6, 10, 11οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος vs.5) and the claims of the Creator. The gospel is the declaration of an "in Christ" sphere (Rom. viii. 2) of holiness which is immune to the κατὰ κράτος (Rom. viii. 1) of God and the demonic powers of sin and death. (Rom. viii. 2b, 3b, 6a, 11b).¹ In this respect the incarnation of Christ into the σάρξ -sphere is already "eine Reise in dies Reich, d.h. eine Hoellenfahrt."² There are two spheres; this world of φθορά (Rom. viii. 21; I Cor. xv. 42, 50) which is contrasted in Gal. vi. 8 with ζῶν αἰώνιον. Elsewhere, ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ and ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ (I Cor. xv. 22) are "ἐν -phrases" which describe these two worlds.

In II Cor. v. 19f. the sinlessness of Jesus (vs. 21) is important for the apostle's doctrine of reconciliation and ἐν αὐτῷ again appears³ as the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ which is a sanctuary from the powers of sin and death. Because of Christ's sinlessness and obedience, the death powers of this world have no rights over him.⁴

¹Cf., viii. 7a. ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν and the designation ὁ θάνατος alongside the ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν (I Cor. xv. 24) as the ἔσχατος ἔχθρὸς to be destroyed.

²Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, p. 203f. Paul, in Rom. x. 7 is aware of a descensus ad inferos tradition but he avoids speculation over it. Cf., Werner Bieder, *Die Vorstellung von der Hoellenfahrt Jesu Christi* (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1949), pp. 71. The descensus traditions are but a dramatic quasi-Hellenistic expression of the incarnation of Christ into the demonic σάρξ -sphere. Cf., Stauffer, *NTT*, pp. 133f.; Michel, *Der Brief an die Roemer*, pp. 256f.

³Cf., Rom. viii. 10.

⁴θάνατος αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι κυριεύει Rom. vi. 9.

In that Christ is the bringer of this heavenly πνεῦμα substance to the earthly sphere, he is the incarnation of holiness itself.¹

Paul in II Cor. v. 21 is probably accepting a basic presupposition of the Jewish Christian community that Jesus is the "righteous one."² He then expands the idea into the cosmic dimensions θεὸς ἦν ἐν Χριστῷ κόσμον καταλλάσσων ἑαυτῷ of II Cor. v. 19 just preceding.³

We are entitled to assume that Paul affirmed the essential Jewish tradition of Christ as the "righteous one" and that therefore "in Christ" at least in Rom. viii. 1f. and II Cor. v. 16f. designates our belonging to him who is the embodiment of holiness in this world of σὰρξ .

"In Christ" and the sphere of spirit-power.---Rom. viii. 1-11 presents as interchangeable the terms ἐν Χριστῷ (vs. 1), πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ (vs. 2), τὸ δὲ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωῆ καὶ εἰρήνῃ (vs. 6), ἐν πνεύματι (vs. 9), πνεῦμα θεοῦ οἴκατ' ἐν ὑμῖν (vs. 9), πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ (vs. 9), Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν (vs. 10), πνεῦμα ζωῆ (vs. 10), τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγγεραντος τὸν Ἰησοῦν (vs. 11). Elsewhere in Paul, the phrases "in Christ," "in the Lord," "in the spirit," "in power," "in God," "Christ in you" and the "spirit in you" are used quite loosely in varying forms with little distinction of meaning made

¹Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, p. 413.; Bertrams, op. cit., pp. 107, 145.

²Cf., Acts vii. 52.; Matt. xxvii. 19.

³Friedrich's view is somewhat suggestive of this conclusion. Friedrich, in Abraham unser Vater, p. 214. Cf., also Michel who shows that to know Christ κατὰ σάρκα is an anti-Jewish polemic (cf., Phil. iii. 3) which Paul is using against his opponents. Otto Michel, "Erkennen dem Fleisch nach," EvTh, IX (1954), pp. 24f.

between them.¹

Deissner thus observes that one cannot distinguish between the Pauline doctrine of the exalted Lord and the spirit-power made present through the incarnation: "Wir beobachten bei Paulus durchgehend einen Parallelismus zwischen dem 'Leben im Geist' und dem 'Leben in Christus.'"² Neugebauer explains that ἐν πνεύματι is the common and uniting factor in the intricate connection of ἐν κυρίῳ and ἐν Χριστῷ;³ and Schweizer states that these various expressions represent "substantiellen Sphaere, in die der Glaubende eintritt, fuer Paulus nur noch die Form ist, in der er den Gedanken der Kraft fasst."⁴ An "elektrisches Kraftfeld" is, therefore, the metaphor for the context of the believer's "spiritual life."⁵ God sends his spirit-power in the form of his only Son, that despite the weakness of his sinful flesh man might be able to obtain within the σῶμα -sphere an "access" (προσεγγῆν) to God's grace.⁶

¹ Cf., Rom. xiv. 14; xv. 13; xvi. 3f; I Cor. ii. 4; iv. 17; vi. 11; I Cor. i. 21-22; vi. 5-7; Phil. i. 26-27; ii. 1; ii. 13; iii. 3; I Thess. i. 1; i. 5.

² Deissner, op. cit., p. 94; Rood, op. cit., pp. 101f.; Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, p. 313.

³ Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 149.

⁴ Schweizer, art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, p. 431.

⁵ Schweizer, "Geist und Gemeinde in Neuen Testament und Heute," p. 20.

⁶ Romans v. 2. "To stand in grace" and to have "access" means to be at "peace with God" (v. 1). Cosmic peace and the reestablishment of man in the "glory of God" (cf., infra, Chapter IX) were to be the gifts of the outpouring of spirit-power (v. 5) in the last days. This section, Rom. v. 1-5, is therefore not cultic (Michel, Roemerbrief, pp. 130f.) but is to be considered as part of the early Christian eschatological hope. Cf., Kuss, op. cit., p. 203. In Christ this hope is made actual for he is the incarnation of the eschatological spirit-power.

Thus Hermann remarks how "Der Gegensatz πνεῦμα - σὰρξ ist also nichts anderes als der Gegensatz Χριστός - σὰρξ¹ a different emphasis.
The ἐν κυρίῳ phrases.---~~Some distinction~~ seems to be made by Paul when employing the ἐν κυρίῳ phrases.'

Neugebauer has pointed out that the exalted Lord is used in those contexts where there exists a reference to common authority (Rom. xvi. 8; I Cor. iv. 17; xi. 11; Phil. i. 14; Philem. 15f.); and ἐν Χριστῷ "das eschatologische Heil geschehen ist."² ἐν κυρίῳ declares "dass die Geschoepflichkeit unter dem Imperativ steht."³ Χριστός is the "Indikativ" and κύριος the "Imperativ."⁴ Kramer agrees with Neugebauer when he states: "Der Kyrios ist so gegenwaertige Autoritaet, die alle Lebensaeusserungen der Christen bestimmt."⁵ Christ as κύριος is essential to the cosmic order.⁶ We shall return to this subject of the κύριος title and creation theology in Chapter IX.

The phrases ἐν Χριστῷ and ἐν κυρίῳ designate the agents of spirit-power activity. This terminology is meant to describe our position in the face of God and the safe ground of holiness in the enemy occupied σὰρξ -sphere. They presuppose the eschatological and cosmic character of the incarnation and are opposed to any interpretation of a "Christ-mysticism."

¹Rom. viii. 12ff.; Gal. v. 13ff. Hermann, op. cit., p. 109.

²Neugebauer, op. cit., p. 134.

³Ibid., p. 137.

⁴Ibid., p. 139.

⁵Kramer, op. cit., p. 178.

⁶Werner Foerster, art. κύριος TWNT, IV, p. 1089.

Summary and conclusions.---How then are we to understand the nature of victory over sin-possessed σάρξ ?

From Old Testament tradition we learned that πνεῦμα is to be understood as a cosmic force and is the counterpart to σάρξ . Any attempt to discuss the Pauline πνεῦμα doctrine in mystical, personalistic, or existential terms must therefore be resisted. God's presence to man in the spirit is always a power-revelation in "Sieghaftigkeit." Paul identifies the workings of God as both spirit and power and in the Romans i. 3-4 hymns we saw how Paul expands the traditional formula of the Jerusalem community to include cosmic-eschatological dimensions of Christ and the spirit-power. The two worlds of σάρξ and πνεῦμα are sharply set over against each other. Gnostic opponents in I Corinthians i-ii made it essential that Paul stress the coming of Jesus into the world of lowly σάρξ . The spirit-power became identified with Christ, who was the bearer of the other-worldly substance, in order to correct an early Christian "Enthusiasmus." In I Cor. v. 3f. Christ possesses the exalted name of κύριος and is identified with the wonder-power of God. This passage should be compared with I Cor. vi. 11, a possible baptismal creed, where the power of the "name" and the "spirit" are the same. πνεῦμα is both a divine power from another world and a standard of conduct whereby the believer shows himself to be a child of this new aeon (Gal. v. 25). The spirit-power is a life-creative force bringing into effect through Christ the new cosmic creation and the beginning of the new age.

The opponents of Paul in II Corinthians help us to comprehend better II Cor. iii. 17a where the spirit-power is again connected with the incarnation. The "in Christ" and parallel phrases give us the further explanation for this identification. Thus: πνεῦμα = power;

πνεῦμα = Christ; "In Christ" = power.

We must conclude, therefore, that the inclination towards sin-
possession on the part of all humanity living in the σὰρξ -world
is challenged by the incarnation of Christ, who as the bearer of the
other-worldly, spirit-power, sets up in enemy-occupied territory,
through his sinless obedience, a citadel of holiness over which the
demonic forces of this world have no justifiable claims.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF THE VICTORY OVER THE LAW

In Chapter III we noticed that although the law was "holy and good," it was yet unable to turn back the powers of death and sin-possessed flesh. Scholarship's best explanation for this quite obvious contradiction between the holy and good, yet powerless law was to point out the important influences of apocalyptic literature and to show how Paul often identified the law with the past aeon of futility.¹ The "holy and good" law has been superseded by the event of Christ. The believer is caught up in a cosmic drama, a shift of aeons and culmination of all demonic lordships.

In this chapter we undertake an exegetical study inquiring into the significance of "aeon theology" in the Pauline epistles. In some respects this chapter will differ from others in section II since the nature of the victory over the law will be considered within the more general context of Pauline eschatology. In our effort to determine the nature of victory over the past age of law, we will seek to understand why the incarnation of Christ meant conquest whereas the law had only met with failure. We will be occupied with the equally fundamental question of the implications of Christ as the bringer of the new age.

¹Fritz Buri explains that from the standpoint of eschatology one can understand this apparent contradiction. The old aeon is in control of the demonic forces of sin and death. In that Paul points out that the law could not free us from these demonic lordships he can associate the old covenant with the past age. "Wie der ganze alte Aeon unter der Herrschaft des Boesen steht, so sind auch alle Dinge und Verhaeltnisse dasselben daemonisch." Fritz Buri, Die Bedeutung der neutestamentlichen Eschatologie fuer die neuere protestantische Theologie (Zuerich: Max Niehans Verlag, 1935), p. 143.

The temporary nature of the law and this world.---In Paul, a slavery to the law and bondage to this passing world may be equated. The believer has been delivered from slavery to the law (Rom. viii. 15) and Paul declares in this same section that the cosmos itself will be set free from "futility" (vs. 20) and "bondage to decay" (vs. 21). Slavery to the law (Gal. iii. 23f.) and to the demonic στοιχεῖα of this world, who are by nature "no gods" (Gal. iv. 1f., 8) are made paralleled in Paul. Implied in the allegory of Gal. iv. 21f. is the idea of a bondage to the law and to this world. We notice the contrast with the "present Jerusalem" (vs. 25) and the "Jerusalem above" (vs. 26).¹ The old covenant did not exist from the beginning (Gal. iii. 19) and it belongs to that "fading splendor" (II Cor. iii. 7ff.; cf., Gal. iii. 23f.) which characterizes a passing age. The death of Christ meant the end of the law (Rom. x. 4; vii. 1ff.) and also the end of the world as it was (Gal. vi. 14; I Cor. i. 25-29, especially vs. 28; x. 11; cf., vii. 31).

In this section we must seek to discover by exegesis the essential meaning of connections between the law and this dying age.

A comparison of Rom. viii. 15 with verses 20 and 21 reveals that the concept of "sonship" is used in connection with both the believer and the creation. In this section of Rom. viii. 12f. there is no explicit polemic against the law, but the contrast of slavery and sonship is used elsewhere in Paul (Gal. iv. 6-7) where definite reference is made to the old covenant. We may assume, therefore, that the apostle could have had the law in mind in this discussion. We must especially notice in this

¹This perishable world (Rom. viii. 21; I Cor. xv. 42, 50; Gal. vi. 8) may be compared with Col. ii. 22 "the human precepts and doctrines" which are also εἰς φθορὰν .

connection that "sonship" (Rom. viii. 14) is interchangeable with "you are not under law" (Gal. v. 18; cf., Rom. vi. 15).¹ We may also observe with Dibelius that the εἰς φόβον phrase of Rom. viii. 15 can mean a fear of demonic powers (cf., Gal. iv. 3, 9) of the past age against which the law proved powerless.² The phrase ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας in Rom. viii. 15 undoubtedly makes reference to the baptism of the believer³ and the ecstatic formula κράζομεν ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ could have been a part of an early baptismal liturgy.⁴ Rom. viii. 18ff. is difficult to interpret for Paul has here taken over and employed language of apocalyptic Judaism.⁵ For the present it is sufficient for us to say that Rom. viii. 15 and verses 20, 21 indicate respectively the temporary quality of both the law and this world.

We have already established that the rulerships of sin and death hold mankind in slavery. The cosmos too stands in bondage:

¹ ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι υἱοὶ εἰσιν θεοῦ (Rom. viii. 14) = εἰ δὲ πνεύματι ἄγεσθε, οὐκ ἐστὲ ὑπὸ νόμον. (Gal. v. 18). Michel says with reference to Rom. viii. 14 that "Die formel: πνεύματι ἄγεσθαι (Gal. v. 18) klingt ekstatisch und ist sicherlich alt." Der Brief an die Römer, p. 196.

² Cf., Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, p. 200.

³ Gaugler, op. cit., pp. 286f.

⁴ Cf., Stauffer, NTT, pp. 235ff.

⁵ Especially in such sections as Rom. viii. 20, an interpretation of biblical-personalism is shown to be quite inadequate for dealing with the apocalyptic dimension of Pauline thought. This weakness is readily seen in Eugen Walter, Das Kommen des Herrn, (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1948), pp. 122f.

Das ist die Situation, in der Paulus den Menschen sieht vor dem Glauben, und nicht nur den Menschen, sondern die ganze Schoepfung, die, obzwar sie Gottes Schoepfung ist und bleibt, seufzt und harret¹ auf die Erloesung, weil sie der Eitelkeit unterworfen ist.

For Paul the essential question was whether or not the law possessed the power to free man from a situation of bondage to these demonic lordships of sin and death. According to the apostle, Christ is the beginning of the new aeon and the believer, through his baptism (vs. 15), is emancipated from the control of cosmic forces (vs. 38) against which the law could not contend. The incarnation of Christ is the inbreaking of God's creative, spirit-power. Creation itself, even with all its demonic powers (vs. 38), has been affected by Christ's coming. The incarnation is the beginning of a new age for the believer and for the cosmos.

This theme of sonship also appears in Gal. iv. 1-11. In Chapter III we maintained that the *συντοκιστὰς* of Gal. iv. 3, 9 represent some kind of demonic powers which would again take possession of man if he accepted an existence under law. We notice in this section further evidence for the Pauline line of argument that the law is part of the transient world.

It is legitimate for us to understand Gal. iv. 1-11 from the context of iii. 23-29 and the argument against the law.² We should realize, therefore, that Paul is equating existence under the demonic *συντοκιστὰς* with a bondage to the law. Zahn concludes from the

¹ Guenther Bornkamm, Gesetz und Schoepfung im Neuen Testament, p. 21.

² Phrases like λέγω δὲ are used elsewhere in Paul (e.g. I Cor. i. 12; x. 29; Gal. iii. 17; v. 16) to continue the argument of a preceding passage. Cf., Lietzmann, An die Galater (Zweite Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1923), p. 23.

general context that: "Es folgt nur, dass mit der Unterstellung unter das Gesetz auch die Unterwerfung unter die στοιχεῖα gegeben sei."¹ Although the apostle is speaking to gentiles in the words of vs. 8, Ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οὐκ εἰδότες θεὸν , he includes both Jew and gentile. in the phrase which is to be found in vs. 3 (οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς). The words . οἷς [i. e. τοῖς στοιχείοις] δουλεῖσαι θέλετε (vs. 9) may be compared with οἱ ὑπὸ νόμον θέλοντες εἶναι of vs. 21. Also, ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπους ἐστὶν καὶ οἰκονόμους (vs. 2) may be paralleled with ὁ νόμος παιδαγωγὸς ἡμῶν in iii. 24. This section thus illustrates the law as part of a temporary existence in this world.

The incarnation of Christ (Gal. iv. 4) and the identification of the believer with him in baptism (iii. 26-27) signified victory over the past age which was subject to domination by the demonic στοιχεῖα and by τοῖς φόβαις μὴ ὅσιν θεοῦς (vs. 8) against which the law could offer no release. Paul shows here that he is aware of Jewish popular belief that the coming of the Messiah would bring about the "shift of the aeons" in the sense that: "Diese Ereignisse bedeuten bereits den Anfang des Weltunterganges, die Vernichtung der ueber den gegenwaertigen Aeon herrschenden Macht, den Beginn der neuen Schoepfung."²

We notice elsewhere in Paul that the verbs πέμπειν (Rom. viii. 3) and παραδίδοναι (Rom. viii. 32) may be compared with ἀποστέλλειν

¹Theodor Zahn, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1907), p. 197.

²Friedrich Guntermann, Die Eschatologie des hl. Paulus (Muenster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1932), p. 32.

(Gal. iv. 4) as implying a Christology of pre-existence.¹ By contrast, the law is an "addition" (προστέθη Gal. iii. 19; cf., Rom. v. ²⁰29) and is presented as having only an interim quality.

Es [the law] gehoert nicht, wie die Juden meinen zu den 'sieben Dingen, die geschaffen sind, bevor die Welt geschaffen wurde'...Es ist nicht mit der Schoepfung geschaffen. Und es gehoert endlich innerhalb der Geschichte des Kosmos nicht zu seinen historisch und sachlich primaeren Kraefte.²

The law was added for the interim between the promise to Abraham

ἄχρις ἃν ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ὃ ἐπηγγέλται (Gal. iii. 19) who was Christ.³ The law was not pre-existent; neither was it a direct

revelation as was the incarnation of Christ. The curious phrase

διαταγαίς δι' ἀγγέλων (iii. 19) surely in this context does not mean that these ἄγγελοι are the same as the demonic στοιχεῖα of iv. 3, 9 as Schlier and others suppose.⁴ The essence of Paul's argument in

Gal. iii. 15f. is that God dealt directly with Abraham and in the incarnation event of Jesus, Abraham's seed, whereas the law required

¹ Kramer believes that Gal. iv. 4 is a pre-Fauline formula which probably reflects various "Erniedrigung und Erhoehung" christological traditions, *op. cit.*, pp. 109f. He illustrates the credal character of the verse thus:

ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ
γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικὸς
γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον
ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ
ἵνα τὴν υἱοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν

² Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 106; cf., Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, pp. 81f.

³ Cf., Christian Maurer, Der Brief an die Galater (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1943), pp. 109f.

⁴ Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, pp. 104f.; cf., Reicke, JBL, LXX (1951), p. 262.

an intermediary."¹

There is an interesting relationship between Rom. viii. 3 and Gal. iv. 4. In Romans viii. 3, it is recorded that God "sent his own son," who was fully identified with the flesh in order to condemn sin "in the flesh." In Gal. iv. 4 Christ enters the sphere of the flesh ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \ \acute{\epsilon}\chi \ \gamma\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$) and is also fully identified with the law ($\gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \ \dot{\iota}\pi\omicron \ \nu\omicron\mu\omicron\nu$) in order that he might "redeem those who were under the law." (vs. 5). The incarnation of the son into the human sphere means the immediate accessibility of the power and divine presence of God; "Es geht um die Bindung des Sohnes an den Vater und gleichzeitig um die einzigartige Vollmacht, die der Vater dem Sohn verliehen hat."² In Paul's view, the incarnation must be understood as the prerequisite for a victory by means of Christ's complete identification with the human condition:

So, wie man in der Gnosis den Aeon ueberwindet, indem man 'mit der raeumlichen Grenze' der Aeonen 'auch ihre Macht durchbricht,' [Dibelius] so ist bei Paulus auch die Macht des im Sarx-Aeon regierenden $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma \ \tau\eta\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\iota\alpha\varsigma$ gebrochen, weil und indem Gott seinen Sohn sandte, der unter dem Gesetz getan wurde, damit er die unter dem Gesetz lebenden Menschen loskaufe (Gal. 4, 4f.; cf., Rm 8, 3f.; Gal. 3, 13). Dieses geschichtliche Ereignis hat eschatologische Bedeutung. Deshalb konstituiert es einen neuen geschichtlichen Daseinsraum $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$, bzw. $\dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\iota$.³

¹Bousset, Der Brief an die Galater (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1917), p. 58f.; A. Schlatter, Erlaeuterungen zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1923), pp. 65f.; Lagrange, Saint Paul Epître aux Galates (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Éditeurs, 1950), pp. 84f.

²Hahn, op. cit., pp. 332f.

³Eberhard Juengel, Paulus und Jesus, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie, 2, herausgegeben von Gerhard Ebeling et al. (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1962), p. 60. Regarding this aeon as a "oἰκῶς -aeon," cf., our criticisms supra, p. 90., n. 1.

The incarnation of the son is the beginning of the new age of freedom from slavery to the στοιχεῖα and to the law. Steinmann therefore remarks with reference to Gal. iv. 4-5: "Die Fuelle der Zeiten bedeutet demnach in diesem Zusammenhang den von Gott in seinem ewigen Ratschluss vorherbestimmten Zeitpunkt, in dem die jetzige Weltzeit ihr Ende findet und die neue Weltzeit in der Erscheinung des Messias und Gottessohnes ihren Anfang nimmt."¹

The believer receives "sonship" at baptism (iii. 26-27; iv. 5-6) which signifies a release from bondage to the old age.² The law is not ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι (Gal. iii. 21) just as the στοιχεῖα are ἄσθενῃ καὶ πτωχῷ (Gal. iv. 9). Only Christ has the spirit-power which brings life. Those ἐν Χριστῷ (Gal. iii. 26) through baptism are placed in a new world of his power.

The law as leading to confidence in the σὰρξ sphere.---In all of these passages it should be made clear that Paul does not condemn the law itself as being evil. He shows, however, that the old covenant which was "good and holy" could become an occasion for fleshly pride.³ Thus Bultmann has clearly stated: "Er [Paul] bekaempft es nicht wegen seines [the law's] Inhalts; im Gegenteil, sein Inhalt sind

¹ Alphons Steinmann, Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher und Galater (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935), p. 135.

² Cf., Fierre Bonnard, "Excursus, IV. Apropos du baptême dans l'épître aux Galates, L'épître de saint Paul aux Galates (Paris: Delachaux et Niestle, 1950), pp. 88f.

³ Note that "self-conceit" in Gal. v. 26 is one of the fleshly desires which Paul condemns. Thus fleshly desires are not to be associated exclusively with sexual sin. They can be the sins of the religious person just as well.

Gottes heilige, unverbruechliche Forderungen. Er bekaempft es, weil und insofern es dem Juden dient, mit seiner Hilfe sein Geltungsbedurfnis zu befriedigen, 'Ruhm vor Gott zu erlangen,' die 'Gerechtigkeit' durch Leistungen zu verdienen."¹ "Boasting" in the law is excluded (Rom. iii. 27). Mankind cannot boast before God (I Cor. i. 29). No humanity will be justified before God by works of the law (Rom. iii. 20).

Our task in this section is to follow, through an exegetical study, the Pauline argument for the conquest of man's confidence in himself, noticing as we proceed the intimate connection between the law and the transient quality of a "σάρξ -only" existence.

Forms of *καυχῶμαι*, *καύχημα*, and *καύχησις*, assume a technical usage in Paul. The apostle employs these words in a vigorous polemic against the law (Rom. ii. 17, 23; iii. 27; iv. 2; v. 2, 3; Gal. vi. 13, 14) and against the sphere of the *σάρξ* (I Cor. i. 29; iii. 21; iv. 7; xiii. 3; II Cor. v. 12; x. 8, 13, 15, 17; xi. 12, 16, 18; xii. 1, 5, 6, 9; II Cor. i. 12; I Cor. ix. 15, 16).

Confidence in the *σάρξ* sphere is the sin of Jew and gentile alike. The incarnation of Christ was a direct confrontation with man's pride. Thus Kaesemann can classify both "...Nomismus und Enthusiasmus als die Beiden Gegner des Evangeliums."²

We notice two lines of argument in the apostle's encounter with those who display trust in the self and in "σάρξ -only". The sin of trust in the self is true of the gentile who ignores the law

¹ Rudolf Bultmann, "Christus des Gesetzes Ende," *GluV*, II, p. 40.

² Ernst Kaesemann, "Zum gegenwaertigen Streit um die Schriftauslegung," *Das Wort Gottes und die Kirchen*, herausgegeben von Fritz Vierung (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), p. 11.

and the Jew who strives to achieve righteousness on the basis of it.

(1) Our confidence cannot be in the σάρξ for it is nothing and

(2) our only cause for "boasting" is in Christ who himself is the incarnation of all-sufficient power. Phil. iii. 3ff. summarizes both of these Pauline positions and is therefore worthy of a more thorough analysis.

In vs. 3 Paul equates καυχώμενοι ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ with οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ κατορθώτες . Then in vss. 4ff. the apostle shows how this κατορθῆναι ἐν σαρκὶ includes existence under law (vs. 6). No one from the σάρξ sphere can boast "before God" (Rom. iv. 2; I Cor. i. 29). Because Christ is God's son sent to earth from the heavenly sphere, our confidence is ἐν αὐτῷ (Phil. iii. 9) and we desire only to know him and the δύναμιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς αὐτοῦ .

Lohmeyer points out that πνεύματι in vs. 3 "...bezeichnet die Sphaere der Transzendenz in Zeit und Geschichte."¹ We notice also in the parallel dative phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ that this same concept of transcendence coming into time may be applicable to the incarnation event. We see further evidence for this view in Rom. xv. 17 where Paul only ἐν Χριστῷ has reason to boast of the "power of signs and wonders," (vs. 19) which Christ has brought about through him.

Also in our passage Phil. iii. 3ff. the apostle relates that confidence in the flesh and in the law ends in futility. This is not merely because man cannot keep the law as was the supposition in much of past scholarship. Even though Paul claimed to be "blameless" as

¹ Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper (12 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), p. 127.

to righteousness under the law (vs. 6), he continues to say that this "gain" (vs. 7) is as "loss" and "refuse" (vs. 8). In that it is an attempt to establish one's own claims of worthiness before God the law is ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου (vs. 9) which is contrasted with having τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην . Because of his pride and self-sufficiency "Der Mensch ist also, mag er das Gesetz erfuellen oder uebertreten, ein Suender."¹ In vss. 8f. the choice between law and gospel is put sharply, within an eschatological framework of Christ and world.²

The appearance of the "righteousness from God" (vs. 9) and the "power of his resurrection" (vs. 10) in this earthly sphere describes vividly the beginning of a new age.³ The parallel passage of Gal. vi. 13-14 puts this aeon theology more sharply than that which we find in Phil. iii. 7f. To boast ἐν . . . σαρκὶ (vs. 13) is contrasted with boasting ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (vs. 14). It is the cross event "by which" (δι' οὗ)⁴ "the world has been crucified to me and I to the world" (vs. 14).

Es geht nicht mehr um die Dialektik Beschneidung und Unbeschnittenheit, Jude und Heide, Gesetz und Gesetzlosigkeit. Diese ist transzendiert. Die Dialektik der Geschichte — und

¹ Bultmann, "Christus des Gesetzes Ende," GluV, II, p. 47.

² Lohmeyer states that the phrases καὶ εὐρεθῶ ἐν αὐτῷ (vs. 9) and γινῶμαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς ἀνδραδείας αὐτοῦ do not reflect a mysticism of Paul but refers to a general eschatological framework of the two aeons. Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper, pp. 135f.

³ Cf., Erhard Kamlah, "Buchstabe und Geist," EvTh, XIV (1954), p. 282.

⁴ Lietzmann, An die Galater, p. 41.

nichts anderes ist die Dialektik von Beschneidung und Unbeschneidenheit — ist ueberschritten oder besser; ueberboten durch die in keiner Dialektik mehr sich bewegende und habhafte, sondern daseiende und zu glaubende 'neue Schoepfung.'¹

We should keep in mind that the apostle Paul speaks of death to the law (Gal. ii. 19; Rom. vii. 4), to sin (Rom. vi. 2, 10, 11) and to this world of flesh (Gal. vi. 13-14) in similar terms. This is so because, since the incarnation of Christ, all things belong to the past age which has been supplanted by the new creation of God.² In the cross, God speaks his "no" "...zu aller kreatuerlichen Selbstheit, die im tiefsten Auflehnung gegen den Schoepfer ist...Welt und Ich sind Gegenpole, die durch das Bund des natuerlichen Egoismus verbunden sind. Beide bedeuten fuer Paulus disqualifizierte Kreatuerlichkeit, d.h. etwa dasselbe wie σαρξ."³

In I Cor. i. 28-31 Paul confronts the Gnostic opponents with this same line of argument. Wilckens feels that the consensus of scholarship supports the view that Paul is also here speaking against Jewish theology:

In der Tat entspricht 1. Kor. 1f. sachlich weitgehend der Eroerterung ueber die Rechtfertigung im Roem. und Gal. Wir finden hier dieselben Strukturen (οὐκ ἐξ ἑργῶν) und vor allem den gleichen zentralen Beziehungspunkt: Das Kreuz Christi. Vieles spricht dafuer, dass Paulus in 1, 18ff. bewusst in der Weisheit der Welt auch zugleich das juedisch Gesetz und die 'eigene Gerechtigkeit' treffen wollte. Und dass der Gedankengang in 1, 18ff. dem Gedankengagn in Roem. 1, 18ff.

¹Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 208.

²Thus Schweizer can say that this world has become a "hell" and the coming of Christ is the restoration of order out of chaos. Cf., Eduard Schweizer, "Das hellenistische Weltbild als Produkt der Weltangst," Mensch und Kosmos. (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1960), pp. 43f.

³Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, p. 161.

genau entspricht, ist allgemein bekannt. Es waere in der Tat unschwer nachzuweisen, dass die Behauptung des Paulus, die Verkuendung des Kreuzes treffe in gleicher Weise wie die gnostische auch die juedische Theologie, durchaus zu Recht besteht.¹

Braun is of the opinion that νόμος and σοφία are closely tied up with κόσμος and σάρξ and that they therefore are both brought to nothing (καταργεῖν vs. 28) by the divine new creation.²

In this world of flesh, no man has the right to boast. Christ is the "power of God" (I Cor. i. 24) and the "source of your life" (I Cor. i. 30), the origin of the new creation and the bringer of the new age. The salvation of the believer is described in a liturgical praise of God's creation power. The hymn quality of I Cor. i. 27-28 has been pointed out by Norden:³

τὰ μὲν τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα κατασχύνη τοὺς σοφοὺς
καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ τοῦ κόσμου ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς ἵνα κατασχύνη τὰ ἰσχυρά
καὶ τὰ ἀγενῆ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός τὰ μὴ
ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ

The technical formula τὰ μὴ ὄντα (vs. 28.; Rom. iv. 17; Heb. xi. 3.; cf., II Cor. iv. 6) was often used in pre-Pauline times to describe God's power to create life from death.⁴ God's act of

¹Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit, p. 222.

²Herbert Braun, "Exegetische Randglossen zum I Korintherbrief," Theologia Viatorum, Jahrbuch der kirchlichen Hochschule Berlin, I (1948), pp. 26f.

³Eduard Norden, Agnostos Theos (Berlin: Verlag B. G. Tuebner, 1913), p. 355.

⁴E.g., II Macc. vii. 28; Philo, spec. leg. iv. 187; cf., Syr. Bar. xxi. 4f. In vs. 30 we notice that this creative power of God is available to the believer in this sphere of weakened σάρξ only ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ who is the divine agent of the new creation. Cf., for the pre-Pauline character of this phrase the article by Arnold Ehrhardt, "Creatio ex Nihilo," The Framework of the New Testament Stories (Manchester: University Press of Manchester, 1964), pp. 200ff.

election and *κρίσις* (vs. 26) is therefore an act of creating for the believer a new world: "Gottes Erwaehlung ist Schoepfungsakt, aber als Schoepfungsakt zugleich auch Vernichtungsakt. Wer durch die Erwaehlung Gottes berufen ist, kann unmoeglich mehr sich selbst ruehmen..."¹

Flesh, spirit and the law.--- The apostle Paul declares that "to be under law" (Gal. iv. 21) is to be paralleled with existence "according to the flesh" (vs. 23). In Gal. v. 16ff. *σάρξ* is contrasted with *πνεῦμα* as if these were two supernatural powers. The apostle concludes that those led by the spirit "are not under law" (vs. 18). In Rom. vii. 14 Paul declares that the law, which is *πνευματικός* brings death even "through what is good" (vs. 13) because mankind is *σάρκινος* (vs. 14). This same idea appears in Rom. vii. 3 where the law could not bring release from sin because it was "weakened by the flesh."

We have already observed that Gal. iv. 21ff. might be connected with Gal. iv. 3, 9 because the "desire" to be *ὑπὸ νόμον* (vs. 21) and the "desire" to serve the demonic *στοιχεῖα* (vs. 9) are equated. Over and above this, Gal. iv. 21ff. makes an explicit comparison between the old covenant and this world of existence *κατὰ σάρκα*. This section of iv. 21ff. is an elaboration of iii. 1ff. where Paul accuses the Galatians of "having begun with the Spirit" and "ending with the flesh." (vs. 3). There are several contrasts in this passage we are now considering which are worthy of note. In his discussion of the law (vs. 21) the apostle Paul presents a sharp antithesis between slavery (vss. 22, 31), and freedom (vss. 22, 26, 31); between children born *κατὰ σάρκα* (vs. 23) to slavery (vs. 24, 25) and those born

¹ Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit, p. 43.

κατὰ πνεῦμα (vs. 29) according to the promise (vs. 23, 28).

The apostle also speaks in antithetical language when he refers to the old and new covenants (vs. 24)¹ and reflects late Jewish apocalyptic thinking in his reference to the present and future aeons in the form of the "present Jerusalem" (vs. 25) and the "Jerusalem above."² It is helpful if we consider the whole of Gal. iv. 21ff. along with such parallel passages as Gal. vi. 7f.³ and Rom. vi. 20f.

In Gal. vi. 7f. the σάρξ -sphere and this world of φθορά are sharply at odds with the πνεῦμα -sphere and the ζωὴ αἰώνιος. Here again Paul is speaking within a structure of two aeons, the old and the new, as is evidenced by the word θεριζέιν which is used here in connection with ζωὴν αἰώνιον (vs. 8) and the future καιρός (vs. 9).⁴ The one who continues to live in the πνεῦμα -sphere⁵ has the spirit-power which is the "guarantee" (ἄρραβὼν II Cor. i. 22;

¹Schlier states that II Cor. iii. 14 refers to the covenant at Sinai as ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη and here the δύο διαθήκαι (Gal. iv. 24) may be interpreted as the old and new covenants. Der Brief an die Galater, pp. 155f.

²Cf., Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2 where the Jerusalem above is also the eschatological "new Jerusalem." For the relevant Jewish literature leading to a better understanding of this passage see the discussion in Lietzmann, "Exkurs: Das himmlische Jerusalem," An die Galater, p. 31.

³This is the suggestion of Reicke, JBL, LXX (1951), p. 266.

⁴The eschatological word θεριζέιν occurs elsewhere in the New Testament (Mtt. iii. 12; iii. 21; xiii. 30, 39; Mk. iv. 29; Mtt. ix. 37; John iv. 35; II Cor. ix. 6; Rev. xiv. 15) where the final apocalyptic judgment of God is referred to as the "harvest."

⁵ὁ δὲ σπείρων εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα (vs. 8) = καλὸν ποιοῦντες (vs. 8). Cf., Gal. v. 25 Εἰ ζῶμεν πνεύματι, πνεύματι καὶ στοιχῶμεν.

v.5) for our inheritance (cf., Eph. i. 14) in the coming age.¹ The believer is set free from the law by the power of being ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ (Gal. ii. 4) and ζωὴ αἰώνιος is the description of this new eschatological ἐν Χριστῷ (Rom. vi. 23) salvation. Christ who is the incarnation of the heavenly spirit-power is of another quality than that which is the φθορά, σάπξ, θάνατος, ἀποθνήσκειν and ἀπόλλυσθαι, of this world. Those who are "in Christ" share this spirit-power, thus implying a victory over the things of this world.

B. Christ the End of the Law

The incarnation as "end" and "beginning."---We should once more be reminded of the general mood of present day New Testament scholarship which believes that the apocalyptic world view of two aeons is most important for correct exegesis: "...die urchristliche Eschatologie ist das Zentrum der urspruenglichen Botschaft gewesen, von dem her alles zusammengehalten wurde."² If we rightly understand the witness of late Jewish apocalyptic literature, it is difficult to find evidence for any expectation of a continuity between the old and new ages. In earlier Judaism it was thought that the coming age would be a renewal of the old, but later apocalyptic literature emphasized a clear-cut separation between the old and new time: "Jetzt aber, in dieser neuen Eschatologie, tritt der entgegengesetzte Gedanke auf, dass die neue Zeit auf einem voellig

¹ Cf., also Rom. viii. 23 where ἀπαρχή, "first fruits" is used with a similar meaning. It is interesting that the spirit is the "first fruits;" so also is the Christ through the power of his resurrection (I Cor. xv. 20). This coincides with our earlier insight that the incarnation of Christ was the coming to earth of the heavenly, πνεῦμα -power from another sphere.

² Ernst Kaesemann, "Probleme neutestamentlicher Arbeit in Deutschland," Die Freiheit des Evangeliums und die Ordnung der Gesellschaft (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1952), p. 144.

neuen Boden mit voellig neuem Material erbaut wird..."¹

We have noticed elsewhere in Paul that seeking to establish one's "own righteousness" (Rom. x. 3; Phil. iii. 9) comes under the condemnation of God because the revelation of the true righteousness has come to man in the person of Jesus Christ.² δικαιοσύνη in Paul is an eschatological and christological concept. Kaesemann has shown how δικαιοσύνη in Rom. iii. 26a. is an expanded commentary on the parallel liturgical sentence in vs. 25b. which more than likely represents the Jerusalem tradition. There is a clear contrast here between the past with its guilt (vs. 25b.) and the present (ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ), as a time of holiness (vs. 26a.). Forgiveness is the gift of the new age and δικαιοσύνη is the presupposition for the establishment of the new people of God. Those who are "blameless and innocent...without blemish in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation" (Phil. ii. 15; cf., I Thess. v. 23) are not those under law.³ Because Paul in verse 15 appeals to the Philippians on the basis of Deut. xxxii. 5, it is possible that here he is attempting to contrast the characteristics of two aeons:⁴ "In Jesu Tod hat sich allein und wirklich ereignet was der juedische

¹Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1934), pp. 64f.

²That δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is a genitivus objectivus and thus means the righteousness which comes from God is indicated by the parallel passage δικαιοσύνη ἐκ θεοῦ in Phil. iii. 9. Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Gottesgerechtigkeit bei Paulus," ZThK, LVIII (1961), pp. 367f.

³This same Greek word ἀμωμος appears in Phil. ii. 15 but also in iii. 6f. where Paul declares that even if one is "blameless" under the law this is "as refuse." (vs. 8).

⁴Such is the opinion of Kaesemann, "Philipper 2, 12-18," EvuB, p. 294.

Fromme erhofft und erbittet. Dieser Einmaligkeit entspricht jedoch, dass das Heilsgeschehen zwei Epochen voneinander trennt, naemlich die Zeit der fruheren Verschuldung und diejenige gegenwaertiger Vergebung und Rechtfertigung."¹ Kaesemann states also that Paul does not understand the new covenant "als Restitution, sondern als Antithese des alten Bundes."² In that righteousness is now revealed in Christ "apart from the law" (Rom. iii. 21, 28) the logical conclusion would seem to be that by faith the law is cancelled for the believer. But Paul in iii. 31 does not follow through to this logical conclusion. We may sympathize with Dodd's apt remark: "It would have made things clearer if he had boldly done so."³ The righteousness from God is incarnated into our sphere in the person of Jesus Christ. Thus the ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ (vs. 26) is sharply contrasted with all that is of the past. δικαιοσύνη in Paul must be understood as having both eschatological and Christological meaning. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is the revelation of God's power and presence in the person of Jesus Christ.⁴

¹ Ernst Kaesemann, "Zum Verstaendnis von Roemer 3, 24-26," Ibid., p. 99.

² Ibid., p. 99. With reference to Rom. iii. 24f. Schulz states that: "Das Verhaeltnis von altem und neuem Bund nun wird von Paulus antithetisch interpretiert: Alter bzw. neuer Bund stehen sich gegenueber wie alter und neuer Aeon. Herrschten dort das Gesetz, die Suende und der Zorn Gottes, so hier die Gerechtigkeit, Vergebung und Gnade." Siegfried Schulz, "Zur Rechtfertigung aus Gnaden in Qumran und bei Paulus," ZThK, LVI (1959), p. 181.

³ Dodd, The Epistle to the Romans, p. 63.

⁴ Cf., Rom. i. 17; iii. 21; x. 6; II Cor. v. 21; I Cor. i. 30. Cf., also Juergen Becker, Das Heil Gottes, Heils- und Suendenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und im Neuen Testament, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 272f. For a helpful history of scholarship discussion on the interpretation of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ see Christian Mueller, Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk, Eine Untersuchung zu Roemer 9-11, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, herausgegeben von Ernst Kaesemann und Ernst Wuerthwein (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1964), pp. 5-21.

The gift character of this δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ in Paul is important for comprehending its identification with the person of Christ who comes to us from another sphere. In Rom. iii. 24-25 the phrase διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ὃν προσέθετο ὁ θεός is perhaps a fragment of Jewish-Christian liturgy,¹ possibly to be paralleled with the Lord's supper liturgy.² Here we notice that the giving of the Christ as the unblemished ἱλαστήριον is a similar idea to Christ being the incarnation of holiness and righteousness.³ Kaesemann declares that this δικαιοσύνη must be understood as the inbreaking of a power revelation:

Zur Gabe wird die Macht, wenn sie von uns Besitz ergreift und dabei gleichsam in uns eingeht, so dass wie in Gal. 2, 20 gilt: 'Nicht mehr ich lebe, sondern Christus lebt in mir.' Von da aus wird die doppelte Ausrichtung der Genetivkonstruktion [δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ] begriffen: Die hier Mitgeteilte Gabe ist nicht und nie von ihrem Geber ablosbar. Sie partizipiert am Charakter der Macht, sofern in ihr Gott selber auf den Plan tritt, und mit ihr auf dem Plan bleibt... Der entscheidende Schritt auf dem Wege, Paulus angemessen zu verstehen, erfolgt erst dann, wenn man der unlöslichen Verbindung von Macht und Gabe in unserem Begriff innewird...⁴

In Rom. iii. 25f. the apostle Paul makes reference to a Jewish-Christian liturgical fragment and in vs. 26 he expands and further comments on it to declare a radical new time of righteousness in Christ. This new age is sharply contrasted with the old:

¹Werner Georg Kuemmel, "κρίσις und ἐνδειξις", Ein Beitrag zum Verstaendnis der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre," ZThK, XLIX (1952), p. 164. Hahn, op. cit., p. 234. Wegenast, op. cit., p. 78. Kaesemann, "Zum Verstaendnis von Roemer 3, 24-26," EVuB, pp. 96f.

²Michel, "Exkurs: Zur theologischen Deutung der δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ bei Paulus," Der Brief an die Roemer, pp. 113f.

³Cf., II Cor., v. 21. Cf., also Heb. iv. 15.

⁴Kaesemann, ZThK, LVIII (1961), p. 371. Cf., Albrecht Oepke, δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ bei Paulus in neuer Beleuchtung, ThLZ, LXXVIII (1953), col. 264.

Paulus denkt nicht wie die unmittelbar nachosterliche Gemeinde aus der Konzeption des erneuerten Bundes und des heiligen Restes oder tut es nur selten und aushilfsweise. Fuer ihn ist Christus eben nicht wie etwa fuer die Geburts-geschichten des Matthaeus der zweite Moses, sondern der zweite Adam, der darum den neuen Bund und die neue Schoepfung herauffuehrt.¹

Because Christ was made to be the righteousness of God (I Cor. i. 30), his incarnation meant an end to self-glory² and excludes confidence in this world which is passing away (I Cor. vii. 29-31). Schrage believes that in this passage (I Cor. vii. 29f.) the coming of the eschatological "Heilzeit" is described with apocalyptic language³ and that here just as in Rom. xiii. 11f. "...die Eschatologie von der Christologie her interpretiert wird."⁴ The beginning of God's new salvation is heralded by the historical appearance of Jesus. "Am Anfang der neuen Geschichte Gottes mit der Menschheit steht fuer Paulus die Inkarnation."⁵ Wherever his name is spoken (Rom. x. 13) and knowledge of him is advanced in the world, he is proclaimed in triumph (II Cor. ii. 14f.).⁶

¹Kaesemann, ZThK, LVIII (1961), p. 374.

²Bultmann, "Christus des Gesetzes Ende," GluV, II, p. 48.

³Cf., διὰ τὴν ἁποστασίαν ἀνάγκην (vs. 26); θλίψις (vs. 28); and the ὡς μὴ phrases (vss. 29ff.).

⁴Wolfgang Schrage, "Die Stellung zur Welt bei Paulus, Epiktet und in der Apokalyptik, Ein Beitrag zu 1 Kor. 7, 29-31," ZThK, LXI (1964), p. 155.

⁵Gerhard Delling, "Zum neueren Paulusverstaendnis," NT, IV (1960), p. 102.

⁶Cf., Bornkamm, Gesetz und Schoepfung, pp. 22f.

Christ himself is declared the θεοῦ δόξαμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν (I Cor. i. 24). Wilckens has shown that in Hellenistic Judaism the law could also be designated as σοφία¹ and that when one compares the texts which deal with σοφία in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Judaism there is much evidence of cross-fertilization.² It is therefore possible that here in I Cor. i. 24 the apostle Paul declares that Christ, who is the incarnated δόξαμιν and σοφία is the end of boastful claims (vss. 29, 31) for the Jewish pride in the law and the gentile pride in knowledge (vss. 22f.).

For the apostle the incarnation of Christ constitutes an end and a beginning. "Christus ist als das Ende des Gesetzes der Anfang der Zeit der Freiheit vom Gesetz."³ The coming of God's righteousness and holiness in Jesus Christ means ipso facto the defeat of demonic lordships⁴ and the beginning of a new epoch in the salvation of mankind.⁵

¹ Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit, p. 191.

² Ibid., p. 195.

³ Juengel, op. cit., p. 62. Ebeling comments on Gal. ii. 25; Rom. vi. 14; vii. 4: "Bei Paulus handelt es sich um einen totalen Situationswandel, um ein sich ausschliessendes Einst und Jetzt, Alt und Neu, und zwar wesentlich Alt und wesentlich Neu und darum definitiv Alt und definitiv Neu — um eine durch Auferstehung von der Toten qualifizierte Veraenderung." Gerhard Ebeling, "Erwaegungen zur Lehre vom Gesetz," ZThK, LV (1958), p. 284.

⁴ N. Messel, Die Einheitlichkeit der juedischen Eschatologie (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Toepelmann, 1915), p. 172.

⁵ Michael Schmaus, Von den Letzten Dingen (Muenster: no publishing house given, 1948), p. 78.

The interpretation of Romans x. 4.---It is necessary now to concern ourselves with the interpretation of the phrase τέλος γὰρ νόμου Χριστός in Romans x. 4. The dispute over this passage centers around whether the word τέλος should be translated as "end" in the sense of "fulfilled" or "end" in the sense of having been "done away with." Whichever translation we accept will be important for our understanding of Christ's victory over the age of the law.

According to Karl Barth, Christ is the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις or "summing up" of the law and therefore τέλος in Rom. x. 4 describes Christ as the end-purpose of the law.¹ From a linguistic point of view both "goal" and "end" of the law are possible translations for the Greek word τέλος. However, we shall notice that most modern scholarship has rejected the Barthian interpretation of this text.² The reasons for this rejection are worthy of note and helpful for the overall comprehension of the Pauline doctrine of Christ's victory over the law.

The τέλος usage elsewhere in Paul allows a translation with the idea of either "goal" and "summary" with its cognate meanings (Rom. vi. 21, 22; II Cor. i. 13) or "end" (I Cor. i. 8; x. 11; xv. 24; II Cor. iii. 13; Phil. iii. 19).³ Our best approach to this problem

¹Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, II, 2, The Doctrine of God, G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance editors (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1957), pp. 240ff., esp. pp. 244f. Cf., idem, The Epistle to the Romans, trans. from the 6th edition, Edwyn C. Hoskyns (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), pp. 371ff.

²For a detailed discussion showing good reason for rejecting the Barthian interpretation cf., Gaugler, Der Brief an die Römer, pp. 94ff.

³However, we should notice that the apostle elsewhere uses forms of πληροῦν and πληρωμα (Rom. xiii. 8, 10) to express the idea of summing up or completing the goal of the law.

would therefore seem to be to bring into our discussion other relevant passages which throw more light on Rom. x. 4.

Delling indicates that Rom. x. 4 is "...ein Kernsatz paulinischer Theologie" and that *τέλος* should be translated as "end" of the law; "...das Christusgeschehen setzt das Gesetz als Heilsweg ausser Kraft; das Gesetz vermag nur noch das Suendersein und damit die Heilsbeduerftigkeit des Menschen vor Gott aufzuzeigen."¹ It is not possible to discuss Rom. x. 4 without taking into consideration ix. 30-33 and the general context of the whole of chapter ix. Michel analyses this context and concludes that Rom. x. 4 is a basic thesis of Pauline theology; it is Christ alone who is the way to righteousness (Phil. iii. 9; Rom. i. 15; iii. 22; vii. 1-6). "Christus ist das Ende, das eschatologische Ereignis jenseits des Gesetzes. Der Satz will also polemisch verstanden werden: die Juden wissen nicht, dass die alte Weltzeit zu Ende und die Herrschaft des Gesetzes abgeschlossen ist."²

Both he who fulfills the law and he who ignores it can fall prey to a " *σάρξ* -only" existence. Both manifest a "self-sufficiency." Only the righteousness from God in the person of Jesus Christ can save us

¹Delling, *NT*, IV (1960), p. 108.

²Michel, *Der Brief an die Roemer*, p. 255. Rom. x. 8 further declares this eschatological meaning. Thus Stroebel states: "Gemeint ist mit *ἔγγυς σου* wohl nicht nur das soteriologische Heute, das zugleich eschatologischer Kairos ist, sondern eben auch die Nahe der letzten eschatologischen Vollendung, so wie Roem. 1, 17 ueber den Grund der 'Heils' -Gewissheit das letzte Ziel ins Auge fasst: *ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πῶς* aus dem Glauben zum 'Leben' (Gottes)." A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 190. Cf., the *ἐγγύς* - *ἔγγυς* usage in Phil. iv. 5; Rom. xiii. 12.

from God's wrath and the curse of the law.¹ The death of Christ is the obedient act of the righteous one (Rom. v. 18). In him and not in the law is the only hope for the many who would be righteous before God. (Rom. v. 15ff.).

In Rom. vii. 1-6 the apostle definitely refers to the believer as having died to the law (vs. 4) and as being "discharged from the law" (vs. 6; cf., Gal. ii. 19; Rom. iv. 15). This passage undoubtedly refers to Christian baptism as in Rom. vi. 1-11 where the believer also participates in the death of Christ. Regarding these two passages, Rom. vi. 1-11 and vii. 1-6, Kuehl says that "Das Taufererlebnis bedeutet fuer die Christen einen vollkommenen Bruch mit dem Alten und den Beginn eines voellig Neuen."² Before our identification with Christ's death in baptism we were as ones living in the old age. Thus Nygren points out that Rom. vii. 7-13 is a description of "...the law in the circumstances of the old aeon, or the power of the law to provoke and increase sin."³ Kuemmel states that in vs. 5 there is clear indication that: "Die Christen waeren frueher ἐν σαρξί was hier nur heissen kann, dass die

¹ Salvation does not come by the law but only wrath (Rom. iv. 15; Gal. iii. 10, 13; I Thess. i. 10; ii. 16; v. 9), because: "...wir sind alle Suender, denn wir stehen nie einmal im Anfang neutral Gott gegenueber, sondern solange Gott uns nicht vergeben hat, stehen wir immer schon im Hass vor ihm, denn wir kommen immer schon aus der Suende her, die Welt und die Geschichte, aus der wir kommen als aus unserer Welt und unserer Geschichte, ist durch Suende qualifiziert." Kaete Oltmanns, "Das Verhaeltnis von Roem. 1, 18-3, 20 zu Roem. 3, 21ff." Theologische Blaetter, VIII (1929), p. 114.

² Ernst Kuehl, Der Brief des Paulus an die Roemer (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle und Meyer, 1913), p. 222.

³ Anders Nygren, Commentary on Romans, p. 277.

σῶρεῖ damals die Oberhand hatte..."¹ This " σῶρεῖ -only" existence has now come to an end with our participation in Christ's death at baptism.

We find that in I Cor. x. 11 Paul speaks of an end of the ages coming to us. From apocalyptic literature we learn that the "last days" were to be known as a time of holiness. It is possible therefore that the coming of Christ ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν το πλῆρωμα τοῦ Χρόνου (Gal. iv. 4) is a variation of the phrase τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντηκεν (I Cor. x. 11).² In Paul there is no "ungebrochenen Uebergang von Judentum zum Christentum"³ but rather there is presented a radical shift of the aeons. Thus Paul can say that all are condemned that all might be saved (cf., Rom. xi. 32; iii. 23; 30; iv. 16; Gal. iii. 22) and that no one is to be justified by law (Rom. iii. 20; Gal. ii. 16) for all are "under the power of sin" (Rom. iii. 9) because of the law (I Cor. xv. 56).⁴ This condemnation of the all, both Jew and Greek, presupposes a complete break with the old and a completely new beginning in Christ. Therefore Juengel observes how "Christus ist also als Ende des Gesetzes der Grund der Rechtfertigung des Menschen. Die eschatologische

¹Kuemmel, Roemer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus, p. 42.

²This is the opinion of Messel, op. cit., pp. 67f.

³Eduard Schweizer, Gemeinde und Gemeindordnung im Neuen Testament, Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, 35, herausgegeben von W. Eichrodt und O. Cullmann (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), p. 86. [ET] Church Order in the New Testament, p. 95.

⁴Cf., Rom. vi. 14 in the light of vi. 1ff. where baptism describes a shift of lordships: "you are not under law but under grace." "Das Gesetz ist zunichte gemacht, sondern wir sind von ihm frei; wir unterstehen seiner Herrschaft nicht mehr, sondern die Gnade herrscht ueber uns (Roem. 6, 14; 7, 1ff.)." Bornkamm, "Taufe und neues Leben (Roem. 6)," DEdG, p. 46.

Bedeutung der Rechtfertigung aber besteht darin, dass Jesus Christus als das Ende des Gesetzes selber das Eschaton war. Der christologische Grund der Rechtfertigung hat sich damit als deren eschatologische Bedeutung erwiesen."¹ It would seem that Rom. x 4 points to a complete break with the past age of the law. Our "death" to the old age in baptism is one means "how" this break with all things of the past world of futility is brought about.

A summary of relevant eschatological theories.---When we speak of Christ as the end of the law, the end of history and the end of the ages, it is most difficult to find our way through the maze of modern theological jargon invented by those who try to communicate vividly the eschatological situation of New Testament times. It is unnecessary to spend too much time going over familiar ground but it is essential that we seek to find some articulate explanation for the tension of the "already" present and the "not-yet" fulfilled of the apostle's theology.

According to Albert Schweitzer² the source of the Pauline theology is to be found in the apology offered by the apostle for the delay of the parousia. The power of Christ's resurrection in Schweitzer's opinion is a victorious "already" in this world of time. The believer, though living in the age of the "not-yet," can participate in this future

¹ Juengel, op. cit., p. 53.

² Albert Schweitzer, Paul and his Interpreters, pp. 240ff. et passim. Cf., Martin Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1941), pp. 105ff., et passim; and more recently Hans-Joachim Schoeps, Paul, pp. 43ff., et passim.

world of God by his mystical union with Christ.¹ Although Schweitzer has correctly pointed out the problem of both present and futuristic elements in Pauline eschatology, his proposed Christ-mysticism as an attempt to resolve the contradictions has proved unacceptable to subsequent scholarship.

C. H. Dodd faces the difficulty of these two aspects of the "already" and the "not-yet" in Pauline theology by explaining that the apostle's thought changed from a dominantly Jewish eschatology, the "not-yet," to a "realized eschatology" in his latter epistles. In addition to the improbability of a development of this nature or of a second conversion experience on the part of the apostle Paul which would re-orient his eschatological thinking,² this position cannot deal adequately with many sections of Pauline literature where futuristic and "realized" eschatology exist side by side in an irresolvable tension.

The confusion of the "already" and the "not-yet" in Pauline eschatology is not essentially improved by the interpretation of Bultmann. Bultmann is clear enough in his statements that Christ signifies the end of the world and that for the Christian "the decisive event has already happened."³ In the Bultmannian theology, however,

¹ Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, pp. 110f., *et passim*. Cf., Porter who is an example of many who may be considered along side of the mystical emphasis of Schweitzer as he says that in order to explain the delay of the parousia the apostle Paul "'spiritualized' the apocalyptic hope." F. C. Porter, "The place of apocalyptic conceptions in the thought of Paul," A Symposium on Eschatology (New Haven: Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Yale University Press, 1923), p. 184.

² For an excellent analysis of the weaknesses in the position of Dodd at this point cf., Neill Hamilton, The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul, Scottish Journal of Theology, Occasional Papers, No. 6 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), pp. 61ff.

³ Rudolf Bultmann, History and Eschatology (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1957), p. 43.

futuristic eschatology, the "not-yet," is where one encounters the most difficulties as we find a prevalence of confusing existentialist and anthropological terminology. The future, in fact, is reduced very much to the present by Bultmann in such statements as "every instant has the possibility of being an eschatological instant"¹ and his argument that for the believer there is an openness to new possibilities of authentic existence.²

Cullmann sees the sphere of God's mighty acts of salvation as a "gradual reduction" from creation, to Israel, to the remnant, to the "One," Jesus Christ, the "middle-point" of "Heilsgeschichte;" and then salvation is extended from him, to the apostles, to the church, to all men, thus resulting in a new creation. This interpretation has been criticized for making the "heilsgeschichtliche" pattern too neat.³ To describe Christ as the "mid-point" is often confusing because it fails to recapture the radical old and new aeon antithesis which, as we have observed, occupied such a prominent place in the theology of Paul. The "already" is described by Cullmann as the decisive battle in the progress of a warfare and the "not-yet" is to be completely removed on "victory day."⁴ Although this analogy is helpful, in Cullman the emphasis upon the imminent victory for the believer does not realistically take into consideration the evils of existence in this present age.

¹ Ibid., p. 154.

² Idem, NMT, I pp. 329f.

³ Ernst Fuchs, "Christus das Ende der Geschichte," Zur Frage nach dem historischen Jesus (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1960), pp. 89ff.

⁴ Oscar Cullmann, Christus und die Zeit (3 Auflage; Zuerich: EVZ Verlag, 1962), pp. 132ff.

Thus Hamilton reminds us:

As a matter of fact the age to come is not yet come, except in a measure, and the present evil age is very much with us. There is no use ignoring or denying the fact that all humans are destined to share the mortality and defilement of the present era until the end comes.¹

Kaesemann offers a very persuasive argument that the apostle Paul found it necessary to correct the "realized eschatology" of a Hellenistic "Enthusiasmus" which was already present in the early Christian community (cf., II Tim. ii. 8) with the "not-yet" emphasis of Jewish apocalyptic. Thus in I Cor. xv. 20-28 Paul reminds this "Enthusiasmus" group that death has not yet been defeated. In Romans vi. 1f. Paul draws back from identifying the victory of the believer with the present experience of the resurrection as is done in "Enthusiasmus" and the Hellenistic mystery religions.² This is in contrast to the emphasis of the deutero-Pauline epistles (Eph. ii. 5f.; v. 14; Col. ii. 12f.) where the language of this "Enthusiasmus" type of thinking is taken over and employed.

Paulus hat gar in Rom 6 die gegenwaertige Teilhabe am Kreuz von der zukuenftigen an der Auferweckung getrennt und die Realitaet des Neuen Lebens allein in der nova oboedientia erblickt. Diese Korrekturen tragen alle anti-enthusiastisches Gepraege...³

¹Hamilton, op. cit., p. 86.

²Notice the change in tenses. In vs. 5 the identification with Christ's death is placed in the past, as already having happened, (σμμετοι γεγόμεν) but the resurrection victory of the believer is referred to as yet in the future (εσομεθα).

³Ernst Kaesemann, "Zum Thema der urchristlichen Apokalyptik," ZThK, LIX (1962), p. 273.

Christ alone is resurrected¹ and the believer participates in this victory only in hope by the gift of the spirit and the nova oboedientia. The believers are defined then as the "Schar der Gehorsam"² who proclaim in their nova oboedientia the victory of the new Adam and thereby show the church to be the new creation: "In ihrem Gehorsam zeigt sich, dass die Auferstehungsmacht sie regiert und die Mächte ausser dem Tode in ihr nicht mehr herrschen."³

Because the "not-yet" emphasis is shown as genuinely Pauline against the more "realized eschatology" of Hellenistic "Enthusiasmus" it is improper to speak of Christ as the "end of history" as do Bultmann, Fuchs, Ebeling, Juengel and others. Christ is rather the beginning of the new age of obedience and it is this description of the salvation event which is least confusing.

It is most difficult to be fair to all of these positions in such a short summary. However, we may observe that it becomes a most futile enterprise to speak of the victory of Christ in strange theological terminology which does not make some attempt, as Kaesemann does, to present the historical context in which the Pauline eschatology was presented. We shall accept Kaesemann's reconstruction of the historical situation as the best solution accounting for the theological tension of the "already" and the "not-yet" in Pauline theology.

These results are significant for our understanding of Christ as

¹Ibid., p. 279. Cf., Schweizer who says that the resurrection body of Christ is spoken of as being a past event where our resurrection is made a futuristic hope. Art. πνεῦμα TWNT, VI, pp. 418f.

²Kaesemann, ZThK, LIX (1962), p. 281.

³Ibid., p. 281.

the "end" of the law. In addition to the fact that the interpretation "end" of the law in the sense of "destruction" has the weight of New Testament scholarship on its side, this discussion has illustrated that Pauline eschatology affirms that Christ is the bringer of a completely new aeon. Paul includes the law in the past age prior to Christ. In this time mankind sinned and was disobedient. Christ's complete obedience symbolizes the nature of the new age. Those who belong to Christ by their nova oboedientia remain within the new aeon lordship of grace and righteousness. But this obedience is neither to achieve righteousness nor to boast, as was the case with the law; but to proclaim the lordship of the only righteous one, Jesus Christ.

C. The Eschatological "Newness" in Christ

"Newness" as an eschatological term.---Only as we appreciate the "newness," the eschatological "much more" (πολλὰ μᾶλλον) of the incarnation can we understand how Paul could say "Christ is the end of the law." (Rom. x. 4). Thus Lindeskog states that: "'neue' ist hier etwas ganz Neues, etwas ganz Anderes, auf eine besondere Weise Qualifiziertes. 'Neu' ist eine christologisch-eschatologische Kategorie; es bedeutet das Alleindastehende, Einzigartige der Person und Sendung Jesu."¹ Paul stresses this eschatological "newness" in the phrase τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ (II Cor. v. 17). The gift of renewal through Christ and his spirit-power which is made available to the believer through him (Rom. viii. 2, 10; I Cor. xv. 45) is seen as a radical "newness" and is more than an improving or re-establishment of the old.²

¹Goesta Lindeskog, Studien zum neutestamentlichen Schoepfungsgedanken, I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1952), p. 237. Cf., Hans Conzelmann, "Was von Anfang war," Neutestamentliche Studien fuer Rudolf Bultmann zu seinem 70 Geburtstag (zweite Auflage; Berlin: Alfred Toepelmann, 1957), p. 1

²Cf., Guntermann, op. cit., pp. 214f.

The incarnation itself means that our world has been given a new quality.¹ Paul's use of Adam typology shows that Christ represents a completely new beginning: "Christus hatte nicht nur allgeschichtliche, sondern auch allkosmische Bedeutung. Christus setzte wie fuer die Menschheit so auch fuer den Kosmos einen neuen Anfang."²

In that Christ now makes possible for the ones ἐν Χριστῷ the receiving of a righteousness from God whereas the law led to boasting in one's own righteousness, this "new" time of grace must be sharply set off from the "old" time under the law: "Dieses 'nun', mit dem Paulus immer wieder die Antithesen der Verlorenheit und der Rettung markiert, ist das heilsgeschichtliche, eschatologische Jetzt, das der Menschheitsgeschichte unter dem νόμος ein Ende setzt (I Kor. 7, 29; 10, 11; Roem. 13, 11 u. a.) und einen neuen Aeon herauffuehrt."³

¹Hermann Diem, "Evangelium und Gesetz" oder "Gesetz und Evangelium?" EvTh, III (1936), pp. 368f. Gerhard Delling, Das Zeitverstaendnis des Neuen Testaments (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1940), p. 101. It goes beyond the scope of this study to consider in what respect the law is still valid for the Christian. However, we might mention that in I Cor. ix. 22 and Gal. vi. 2 the phrase "the law of Christ" should be taken to mean the general code of conduct which the Christian should follow. Since Gal. vi. 2 comes within the context of "parenthesis" we might also suggest that the New Testament "parenthesis" sections contain information on this more general "law of Christ." Cf., C. H. Dodd, "ΕΝΝΟΜΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ" Studia Paulina, in honorem Johannis de Zwaan (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn, 1953), pp. 96-110.

²Schmaus, op. cit., p. 341.

³Guenther Bornkamm, "Die Offenbarung des Zornes Gottes," DEdG, p. 23. Cf., H. D. Wendland, Geschichtsanschauung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im Neuen Testament (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1938), pp. 36ff.

The new δόξα .---In II Cor. iii. 7ff. the old "fading" δόξα of the law is contrasted with the eschatological "much more" πολλῶν μᾶλλον (vs. 9) which is "permanent" (vs. 10, 11). In Paul Christ is presented as possessing the heavenly δόξα (I Cor. ii. 8; II Cor. iii. 18; iv. 4). This δόξα revelation is contrasted with the law in that it is more powerful: "Im Ganzen ist die Macht seiner Erscheinung zugleich Glanz und ihr Glanz zugleich Macht sodass man δόξα am besten mit Machtganz uebersetzen kann."¹

It is evident from I Cor. xv. 42ff. that δόξα, δύναμις and πνεῦμα, are all closely related concepts in Pauline theology. The believer is united with Christ who is the bringer of this new age of power: "Das himmlische Koönigreich ist erfuehlt mit δόξα. Wer in dies Reich eintritt, tritt damit zugleich in die Sphaere des goettlichen Lichtglanzes und der goettlichen Macht ein."² This idea of a radical δόξα power of God made known to man in Christ's appearance is none other than the proclamation of a "...zweite Schoepfung der Welt Gottes, die seine endgultige Herrschaft ueber seine Kreatur darstellt."³

Existence without this δόξα of Christ is slavery and fear (Rom. viii. 15ff.) and to exchange this δόξα for trust in this

¹ Heinrich Schlier, "DOXA bei Paulus als Heilsgeschichtlicher Begriff," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, I (1961), p. 47. Cf., Volz who states that the word δόξα implies power because in Jewish tradition it is used many times speaking of kings and kingdoms. Paul Volz, Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlicher Zeitalter, p. 398; Richard Kabisch, Die Eschatologie des Paulus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1893), p. 91.

² Johannes Schneider, DOXA (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1932), p. 91.

³ Helmut Kittel, Die Herrlichkeit Gottes (Giessen: Verlag Alfred Toepelmann, 1934), p. 221.

creation ends in futility (Rom. i. 18ff.). The hope which the Christian believer possesses is that even in death he may participate in this δόξα victory won through Christ.¹ The resurrection of Christ διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς (Rom. vi. 4) expresses the "Kraft der neuen Welt Gottes"² which is proclaimed on earth in that we are baptized with Christ and now ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατοῦμεν.

The "new" life.---"New" life should be understood eschatologically and not as a mere ethical³ or mystical term.⁴ Life is the opposite of destruction and judgment which characterized the past age under the law.⁵ According to Roessler in Judaism the new age would come about by God's making His people holy.⁶ For Paul this possibility is now actual in Christ who is the incarnated, creation-power of God, the righteous one and bringer of new life.⁷

¹Cf., Rudolf Bultmann, Die christliche Hoffnung und das Problem der Entmythologisierung (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1954), pp. 22f.

²Bornkamm, "Taufe und neues Leben bei Paulus, (Roem. 6)," DEdG, p. 38.

³Against Kabisch, op. cit., pp. 111ff.

⁴Against Emil Weber, Eschatologie und Mystik im Neuen Testament (Guetersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann, 1930), pp. 6ff.

⁵Cf., Volz, Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlicher Zeitalter, pp. 362f.

⁶Roessler, op. cit., pp. 69f.

⁷Cf., Chapter IX for the eschatological-cosmic dimensions of the incarnation as the possibility for "new life."

Summary and Conclusions.---How then are we to understand the Pauline atonement-victory with reference to the law?

Throughout this chapter we have been forced to acknowledge the cosmic and eschatological importance of the incarnation event. We have seen how the apostle Paul equates the temporary nature of the law with this world which is also passing away. The metaphors of the slavery of man under the law and the futility of the cosmos are both contrasted with the sonship-existence under Christ. Whether or not one fulfilled the law, he could not be freed from the death of a dependence upon self, a trust in one's own righteousness, a slavery-existence which was out of touch with God's power of forgiveness and resulted in being an easy prey to the demonic power of sin. For Paul the law lacked the power to deliver mankind from this demonic bondage to sin and death. Paul sets himself against rabbinic tradition in his contention that the law of Moses did not exist from the beginning of creation. Not only was the law later and an indirect revelation of God but a return to the old covenant after the appearance of Christ can only result in a demonic enslavement to the *συνεχῆ τοῦ κόσμου* who are by nature "no gods." This stresses once more the temporary nature of the old covenant. By contrast, the Pauline doctrine of the incarnation declares Christ as pre-existent and as God's direct revelation. The believer receives the gift of "sonship" at his baptism "into Christ." The sacrament signifies for him a cosmic event, a shift of lordships and an end of all bondage to the past age of futility in which Paul clearly includes the law.

Paul does not condemn the law in itself but only man's confidence in himself, in the flesh, which may even be the result when he properly fulfills the law. The law can but end in death for in man's keeping

or not keeping the law he is in both cases shown to be a proud "self-sufficient" sinner and an enemy of God. The only hope of escape from this futility is ἐν Χριστῷ ; in him man can boast before God for Christ alone is true righteousness. This revelation of the righteousness of God in the incarnation of Christ is a power-appearance of the new "Messianic" time. δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as power is contrasted with the weakness of the law and one's own claims to righteousness as he lives in the impotency of the "σάρξ" -only" sphere.

Christ is the end of the law. Paul rejects a "New Moses" christology (II Cor. iii. 7f.) which would see the old covenant as once again renewed or improved. In this rejection of the θεῖος - ἀνὴρ missionaries in II Cor. Paul is forced to make the break between the old and new covenants most radical. Christ is the new and last Adam, and not a new Moses or returned prophet from the time of the old covenant. As the new and last Adam, Christ is the bearer of a radical, new creation clearly separated from the old because of its δύναμις and δόξα . That τέλος in Rom. x. 4 should be interpreted as "end" in the sense of "destruction" is supported by the weight of most modern New Testament scholarship. But this interpretation also coincides with what we learn from other parallel Pauline passages where Christ has brought in the new age and ended all things of the past.

Among the various theories describing this eschatological victory we selected as most plausible Kaesemann's thesis of Christ as the one who begins the new age.

Christ is the δόξα of God, the appearance in this sphere of divine creation power, whereas the old covenant was a "dispensation of death." (II Cor. iii. 7).

Christ is eternal; the law is temporal: Christ is the righteousness of God; the law leads to righteousness of one's own: Christ is the eternal $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ and life-creating power; the law has only a "fading" $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ and ends in death. The all-sufficiency of Christ's incarnation event may be characterized as a victory over the entire past age in which Paul places the law. The old covenant proved powerless to release man from the futility and death of dependence on self and this world of sin-possessed-flesh. This radical victory with all its cosmic and eschatological overtones signals for the believer the release from demonic enslavement to sin and death whereby he is caught up in the new creation of God.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NATURE OF THE VICTORY OVER SIN

In Pauline theology sin may be understood as a demonic power in so far as it enslaves, possesses and destroys mankind. Since in Chapter IV this was our conclusion in reading scholarship's definition of sin's demonic quality, we should expect to find in Paul an atonement doctrine which would project God's revelation of Himself in the vivid imagery of powerful counter-action. We must see if this is, in fact, the case. Does the Pauline atonement-theology show itself in terms of cosmic dimensions of power and in terms of Christ as victor? If this latter interpretation is indeed the true picture, as we will attempt to show, what does this imply as to the nature of the victory over sin? Our study must of necessity give special attention only to those sections in Paul where the atonement seems to be projected against the background of man's demonic enslavement to this world of sin-possessed flesh. It is to be understood, however, that we cannot avoid treating, at least in a general way, not only the passages dealing with sin but the wider concerns of Pauline atonement-theology in their entirety.

Specific questions may be asked as we examine the Pauline atonement-theology. We notice that there have been ^{many} ~~any number of~~ those who would ^{contend} ~~acknowledge~~ that Christ's victory over sin and demon powers "is part of a different theory" of the atonement which is not really

central to the apostle's theology.¹ In this chapter we will test such statements against modern trends in exegesis.

Others, like W. D. Davies, have asserted that only the "exigencies of controversy" such as the Colossian heresy forced the apostle Paul to underline the "cosmological significance" of Christ.² However, in our present study we concentrate only upon the undisputed epistles, emphasizing here the abundant evidence we have for asserting this "cosmological significance" at the very heart of the Pauline witness.

In the past, much New Testament scholarship has shown a fascination for mystical and personalistic terminology which, in these authors' opinion, adequately expressed the essential direction of the Pauline atonement doctrine. In this chapter we attempt to justify our sympathy with others in recent scholarship who felt called upon to define this atonement action of Christ as a salvation deed of cosmic importance.³ We must weigh these two alternative positions against the exegesis of the relevant Pauline passages of scripture.

The language of Old Testament sacrifice turns up in Pauline theology at times, thus leading some scholars to suppose that it is this and not the Christus Victor motif which comprises the basic thrust of the apostle's doctrine of the atonement. In our present chapter we must also examine the evidence for both of these positions. Since the

¹ Vincent Taylor, The Atonement in New Testament Teaching, (London: The Epworth Press, 1940), pp. 144f.

² W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 177.

³ Thus Buri states that the forgiveness of one's own sins is but a part of the greater, cosmic victory over Satanic powers which is expressed in the New Testament proclamation. Fritz Buri, Dogmatik als selbstverstaendnis des christlichen Glaubens, II, p. 300.

Pauline literature presents no schematized answer to questions about Christ's victory over the demonic power of sin, we must therefore deal with various types of tradition and operate from the wider area of the apostle's atonement doctrine as a whole in order to get at this question of the nature of Christ's atonement victory.

A. The Significance of the Sacrificial Motif in the Early Traditions.

Introduction.---In this section, we make an attempt to isolate and deal specifically with the following questions: Is the meaning of Christ's death sufficiently explained by harking back to the idea of sacrifice as it appears in the Old Testament; or is Paul, in his mention and comment upon some of these sacrificial traditions rather more interested to show the cosmic-universal and not the cultic-Jewish significance of Christ's atonement action? Do we find in Paul strong emphasis on the themes of conflict and victory or does the sacrificial motif appear to be dominant? What role is played by the sacrificial and Christus Victor themes in Paul's thought about the nature of the victory over sin's demonic hold upon mankind?

Traces of Jewish sacrificial tradition.---We notice in Rom.

iii. 24f.; I Cor. v. 7; II Cor. v. 18f.¹ evidence for what well might be traces of early Jewish-Christian liturgical traditions² which have been taken over from the early church and used by Paul.

¹The tradition found in I Cor. xv. 3f. is dealt with later. Cf., infra., pp. 250f. In Rom. ix. 3; xii. 1; xv. 16; I Cor. xiii. 3 there are further evidences of the sacrificial motif in Pauline theology but these occurrences do not appear in connection with the death of Christ. They are sections of ethical instruction.

²Cf., Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, pp. 106f.; Kuss, op. cit., pp. 155f.; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 232, 237f.; Wendland, Die Briefe an die Korinther, p. 40; Lietzmann, An die Korinther I - II, p. 24.

In I Cor. v. 7f. Paul makes obvious reference to expressions known to us from the passover liturgy.¹ We must question whether this passage gives us adequate cause to claim for Pauline atonement-theology the central importance of the sacrificial motif.²

First of all we should point out that there is more involved here in the Pauline line of argument than an attempt to show Christ as an antitype of passover sacrifice. Even Vincent Taylor, who elsewhere argues that the sacrificial motif best explains the Pauline understanding of Christ's death, does not attempt to argue that here Paul "is making a formula and exact identification" of Christ as the passover lamb.³ Markus Barth also remarks that the Pauline references to Christ's death are "different from a narrow concept of cultic sacrifice" and include more complex ideas.⁴ There is sufficient reason to believe that the general context of I Cor. v. 7 speaks against this passage as being a proof text for seeing the Pauline atonement doctrine primarily in terms of Old Testament sacrifice.

Lohse introduces us to the problems of viewing I Cor. v. 7 purely upon the basis of the sacrificial motif: "Weil der Zusammenhang paraenetisch bestimmt ist, erfolgt eine naehere Ausfuehrung des

¹ St-B, III, pp. 259f.

² In Schoeps, I Cor. v. 7 and other similar passages are put forth as cause for supposing the sacrificial motif is the essential meaning underlying Pauline soteriology. Schoeps, Faul, pp. 128f. 141ff.

³ Taylor, op. cit., p. 273.

⁴ Markus Barth, Was Christ's Death a Sacrifice?, Scottish Journal of Theology Occasional Papers, No. 9 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961), p. 7.

Vergleiches Christi mit dem Passalamn nicht."¹ The whole of I Cor. v. 6-13 is best understood if we keep in mind its general context of ethical instruction. The reference to Christ as the passover lamb thus emerges quite logically from the apostolic appeal for temporary excommunication of the Corinthian offender in vss. 3f. Schrage, among others, has illustrated the interrelationship of the indicative and the imperative in Pauline thought; i.e. "be what you are" or live as befits your new nature. This tension comprises a "Zentralpunkt der paulinischen Paraenese."² By making a close examination of these imperatives we may be led to the meaning of the indicative and thus have a clue to the nature of the atonement victory in the early "paraenesis" tradition. This should be our method of approaching this passage. It is quite artificial to lift out verse 7 from its context of "paraenesis" and build a case upon its contents.

In I Cor. v. 7 ἐκκαθάρατε τὴν παλαιὰν ζύμην
 is the imperative which is based on the indicative καθὼς ἐστε ἄζυμοι
 and καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτίθη Χριστός . Christ's
 death brings about the securing of an ἄζυμος relationship or
 righteousness.³ In subsequent passages we will notice this recurring
 theme in the Pauline ethical instruction. Christ has won a victory

¹Eduard Lohse, Maertyrer und Gottesknecht, Untersuchung zur urchristlichen Verkuendigung vom Suedtode Jesu Christi (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1955), p. 142.

²Schrage, Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paraenese, p. 82. Cf., Rom. vi. 2 with vi. 12f.; Gal. iii. 27 with Rom. xiii. 14; I Thess. v. 5 with II Cor. vi. 14; and the locus classicus Gal. v. 25 all quoted by Schrage.

³ἄζυμος can mean holiness or "righteousness" or "...die Freiheit von allem Schlechten." TWNT, II, p. 906.

through his atonement action which secures holiness and righteousness for the believer. Therefore: "Be what you are!!" Beyond this we need only point out that it is dangerous to claim too much for the sacrificial motif from I Cor. v. 7 since it is not a summary of the Pauline atonement doctrine but more an incidental statement within the general context of "parenthesis."

We stated earlier our belief that in Rom. iii. 25 Paul is perhaps reproducing the Old Testament, cultic emphasis of an early Christian liturgical tradition and expanding upon it with his comments in vs. 26. It is important at this time to present in more detail our reasons for this contention and its importance for our attempt to ascertain the nature of the victory over sin.

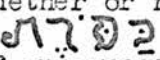
The word ἀπολύτρωσις (vs. 24) does not play a key role in the apostle's doctrine of the atonement¹ and there is evidence that in early Christian tradition it is linked with the juristic-cultic sayings about ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν . The ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν is an emphasis that, surprisingly, is found only in the deutero-Pauline literature² where it does appear in connection with ἀπολύτρωσις .

¹ ἀπολύτρωσις occurs among the undisputed epistles of Paul only in Rom. viii. 23, I Cor. i. 30 and in our present passage. According to Buechsel it should not be considered as of equal importance to δικαιοσύνη , καταλλαγή , or ἐλεῦθερος . TWNT, IV, p. 358.

² Bultmann's explanation for Paul's avoiding the "forgiveness of sins" terminology is worth mentioning: "... 'forgiveness of sin' is insofar ambiguous as it seems to declare only release from the guilt contracted by 'former sins,' whereas the important thing for Paul is release from sinning, release from the power of sin," NTT, I, p. 287.

ἱλαστήριον¹ and πάρεσις are words which make no appearance elsewhere in Paul and phrases referring to the blood of Christ (ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι) occur here and in Rom. v. 9; I Cor. x. 16; xi. 25, 27 where the apostle seems also to make explicit use of material from this same strand of early Christian liturgical tradition describing the death of Christ. Also προτίθεσθαι, προγεγονότα, and ἁμαρτήματα are not characteristic Pauline expressions. Rom. iii. 25 begins with a relative pronoun which in Phil. ii. 6ff.; I Tim. iii. 16; I Pet. ii. 23 is the method of introducing established traditional materials. With the exception of the Pauline gloss διὰ πλόντως it is probable that the whole of verse 25 is a reproduction of pre-Pauline liturgical tradition.

Paul here probably duplicates early Christian tradition and we must look now to vs. 26 where indications of his particular commentary on the meaning of this tradition are evident. The theme of vss. 21-27 is the revelation of God's righteousness in the present age (νυνὶ δὲ vs. 21; ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ vs. 26). In the past God "passed over former sins" (vs. 25) whereas in the present time he makes men righteous. The apostle Paul in vs. 26 is probably adding his own comment to the early church tradition as is indicated by the close

¹The much disputed question of whether or not ἱλαστήριον should be understood in the light of the  and the Day of Atonement liturgy is not at the center of our present discussion. Cf., Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, pp. 237ff.; Buechsel, TWNT, III, pp. 319ff. However, in this connection, Barrett's comment is significant. Although not denying the possibility of an identification of Christ with the "mercy seat" and true divine presence, he points out that these allusions "may be no more than overtones." C. K. Barrett, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957), p. 78. For an excellent guide to the literature on this problem see the discussion by Kuss, op. cit., pp. 155f.

parallelism in the following reconstruction of our text:

εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ

(διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν, τῶν προγεγονότων
ἁμαρτημάτων ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ θεοῦ)

πρὸς τὴν ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ

(ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον
καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ)

The past is characterized by *πάρεσις*, and *ἀνοχή* which is another way of saying God has suspended judgment until the eschatological new age in Christ.¹ Paul's intention in vs. 26 is to show the death of Christ is also for the cosmos and not only in terms of the cultic, sacrificial ideas of the old covenant: "Gerechtigkeit Gottes ist also fuer Paulus nicht Bundestreue gegenueber einem Bundesvolk, sondern *iustificatio impii*, des Heiden und des Juden, in einem gegenueber dem Alten Bund 'ganz' neuen *καιρῷ*. Nicht die Zugehoerigkeit zu einem Volk, zu dem Gott in einem Bundesverhaeltnis steht, ist Bedingung fuer die Rechtfertigung, sondern der Glaube."² In the present time God grants righteousness through Christ. For Paul the righteousness of God through Jesus (*εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον*) is essential for making possible the righteousness of the believer (*καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ*). How then, in this context, does Paul interpret the nature of Christ's victory over the demonic power of sin? Christ is the mediator of God's righteousness in this sphere. Confronted with God's righteousness the powers of darkness and the kingdom of sin have neither rights nor claims.

¹ Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 109.

² Klaus Wegenast, Das Verstaendnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 8, herausgegeben von Guenther Bornkamm und Gerhard von Rad (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1962), p. 78.

In all this we must remember, as Knox has pointed out in an excellent discussion, that the two aspects of victory and sacrifice are not mutually exclusive of each other.¹ Paul expands upon but does not contradict the early kerygma of the church.

We now turn to a similar Pauline passage in II Cor. v. 18f. The new age (τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινὰ vs. 17) in Christ has made possible for the believer both καταλλαγὴ (vs. 18f.) and δικαιοσύνη (vs. 21). Here the righteousness of God and also the sinlessness of Christ (vs. 21) ^{are} ~~is~~ essential to understanding the nature of the victory over sin and the making possible of "reconciliation" for the world.² In Rom. v. 10-11 "righteousness" and "reconciliation" are intimately related to one another.³ In Rom. xi. 15 the καταλλαγὴ κόσμου is also connected with the holiness of the people of God (vs. 16). That καταλλαγὴ and καταλλάσσειν are truly Pauline words is attested by the fact that they appear nowhere else in the New Testament except in Romans and Corinthians. ^{These} ~~The~~ words

¹ John Knox, The Death of Christ (New York: Abingdon Press, 1958), pp. 144f.

² Lampe concludes that II Cor. v. 21 "contains the heart of St. Paul's teaching both on the atonement and on justification." G. W. H. Lampe, Reconciliation in Christ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 30.

³ Here again as in Rom. iii. 25-26 it is possible that Paul is using a traditional formula of the early church (ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ vs. 9) and repeating the same idea (διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ vs. 10b) in order to give his own emphasis (ἐχθροὶ ὄντες καταλλάγημεν vs. 10a).

in Paul denotes the most radical change in the relationship between man and God.¹

We can be much less certain here than in our earlier passages but there are some indications that II Cor. v. 18f. partakes of a liturgical spirit. The phrase *μὴ λογιζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν* (vs. 19) seems to recall the same ^{liturgical} emphasis in the traditional material in Rom. iii. 25b. Also in vs. 18 (*καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς*) and especially in vs. 21 (*ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*) we see evidence of the cultic *pro nobis* theme already recognized as part of early Christian liturgical expressions.²

The opinion of Kaesemann is that here in this passage we are dealing with the intermingling of cultic (*καταλλάξαντος ἡμᾶς* vs. 18) and non-cultic (*κόσμον καταλλάσσειν ἑαυτῷ* vs. 19) tradition.³ In support of this position he remarks how in Rom. v. 8b-9 the cultic terminology *Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανεν* and *ἐν τῷ αἵματι* is expanded in vs. 10 by a repetition of the phrase *διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* to include not only the cultic and

¹Thus man has become a *καινὴ κτίσις* II Cor. v. 17, changed from being *ἀσθενής, ἀσεβής* and *ἐχθροί* (Rom. v. 6-10) into being the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* II Cor. v. 21. For further discussion on the radical nature in Paul's use of *καταλλαγή, καταλλάσσειν*, cf., T. W. Manson, *On Paul and John*, Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 38., (London: SCM Press, 1963), pp. 50ff. A "change of attitude," as Crabtree would describe *καταλλαγή*, whether it be on the part of God or man, fails to grasp the radical and cosmic meaning of this Pauline usage. Arthur B. Crabtree, *The Restored Relationship*, A Study in Justification and Reconciliation (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1963), pp. 41f.

²Cf., Rom. iv. 25; v. 9; viii. 32; I Cor. xv. 3; I Thess. v. 10; Gal. i. 4.

³Ernst Kaesemann, "Erwaegungen zum Stichwort 'Versoehnungslehre im Neuen Testament,'" *Zeit und Geschichte*, Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80 Geburtstag, herausgegeben von Erich Dinkler (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1964), pp. 50f. That the word *καταλλάσσειν* itself is non-cultic is readily seen by its usage elsewhere in Paul (I Cor. vii. 11).

pro nobis ideas but also the more cosmic and universal emphasis (ἐχθροὶ ὄντες καταλλάγημεν). He calls the introduction of this cosmological variant to the cultic pro nobis tradition¹ the "Anfang des Ueberlieferungsprozesses." This universalistic variant to the pro nobis theme, which originates "aus der Doxologie der hellenistischen Gemeinde," understands God as having reconciled the world i.e. the "enemies" (vs. 10) and the "ungodly" (vs. 6). This reconciliation establishes "access" to God (vs. 2)² and the establishment of an eschatological "peace." (vss. 1, 10). Later, by the time of the writing of Colossians and Ephesians, there is an example of this same intermingling of these two types of tradition (Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 13f.).³ (δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα . . . εἰρηνοποιήσας - - - διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ Col. i. 20).

However, it is interesting that Paul holds in check the victorious and doxological language used to describe Christ's act of cosmological καταλλαγή. In Rom. vi. 4ff. the apostle corrects

¹Cf., Rom. xi. 15; II Cor. v. 19f.

²Commenting on the greek word προσευγή Kuss states that "Die Gnade erscheint hier bildlich als Bereich, in dem der mit Gott versöhnte existiert..." Kuss, op. cit., p. 203.

³The first mentioned passage concludes the hymn of Col. i. 15-20 so at least by this time the eschatological καταλλαγή concept has become formalized into church tradition. However, there are indications that earlier this eschatological-universalistic variant of καταλλαγή salvation was approaching the status of formalized tradition. In Rom. xi. 15 there is the parallel structure of καταλλαγή κόσμου - ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν and the phrase ὥς ὅτι in II Cor. v. 19 seems to introduce a formal quotation. Cf., Kaesemann, "Erwägungen zum Stichwort 'Versöhnungslehre im Neuen Testament,'" pp. 49f.

an over-enthusiastic emphasis on the doxological victory to assert in his "parenthesis" section (vss. 12f.) and also in vs. 4b. the need for new obedience (οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν)¹ In II Cor. v. 18f. there is also this element of "parenthesis" (δόντος ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς vs. 18, θέμενος ἐν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τῆς καταλλαγῆς vs. 19 and καταλλάγητε τῷ θεῷ vs. 20) which balances the doxological character of God's καταλλαγὴ salvation. This holds significance for our understanding of the Christus Victor theme in Pauline atonement theology. The elements of cosmic victory are always balanced by the apostolic "parenthesis."

Kosmischer Friede senkt sich nicht maerchenhaft ueber die Welt. Er greift immer nur so weit Platz, wie Menschen im Dienste der Versoehnung bewahren, dass sie selber Frieden mit Gott gefunden haben. Die Botschaft von versoehnter Welt erweist ihre Wahrheit im versoehnten Menschen, nicht ohne ihn und ueber ihn hinweg.²

The καταλλαγὴ of the world and of all things would be a logical part of the gospel message which in a missionary situation was proclaimed to the gentile world. We see in the deutero-Pauline literature (Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 16) the extension of the Pauline ideas of καταλλαγὴ to include a cosmic reconciliation without the ethical

¹ Further evidence that Paul was here aware of a possible misinterpretation by a Hellenistic "Enthusiasmus" is indicated by Rom. vi. 7-8 where the believer's participation in the victory of Christ's resurrection is placed in the realm of faith (πιστεύομεν) and in the future (συνήσομεν) even though our association with Christ's death is spoken of in the past tense (ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ). Cf. our note on "Enthusiasmus," supra, p. 185, n. 4.

² Kaesemann, Ibid., p. 52.

admonitions as a balance against "Enthusiasmus."¹

Paul faithfully duplicates early Christian tradition in affirming Christ's death as an atoning sacrifice. However, there is sufficient indication to show that his peculiar interpretation breaks through the cultic terminology in adapting the early Christian kerygma to the mission to the gentiles. Two things need to be said in summarizing the passages under consideration. (1) There seems to be implied a direct relationship between the righteousness and sinlessness of Jesus which secures victory over sin. (2) This atonement victory, according to Paul, is more than a cultic sacrifice because it assumes cosmic and eschatological dimensions.

The "pro nobis" themes.---The pre-Pauline creed of I Cor. xv. 3f. states that "Christ died for our sins" and this cultic-liturgical theme appears throughout Paul (Rom. iv. 25; v. 8; viii. 32; I Cor. i. 13; xi. 24; II Cor. v. 21; Gal. i. 4; iii. 13).² Because these pro nobis expressions no doubt represent early church tradition we now look to the Pauline treatment of them in order to understand better the nature of Christ's atonement action.

¹ Schweizer points out that the doxological idea of lordship and triumph "over" the world and the kingdom of darkness in this absolute sense is part of the later missionary kerygma. In Pauline literature this cosmic importance of Christ is to be found, but, says Schweizer, it is expressed more often in terms of *σόφια* and creation theology. Eduard Schweizer, "Aufnahme und Korrektur juedischer sophiatheologie," *EvTh*, XIX (1959), pp. 113ff. Schweizer states also that the call to obedience is important for our interpretation of Paul. *Ibid.*, p. 120. The doxological section of the hymn in Phil. ii. 10-11 for instance is in a general "parenthesis" context.

² For a variation of the pro nobis formula cf., I Cor. viii. 11; Rom. xiv. 15.

In most of these cases Paul merely repeats the traditions of the early church without much comment upon them. However, in some passages the apostle offers relevant explanation of the tradition.

Paulus fñhrt die urgemeindliche Verkuendigung von Suenntode Christi weiter und vertieft sie, indem er daraus folgert, dass Gott durch ihn die Gerechtigkeit offenbart, die Herrschaft des Gesetzes als Heilsweg aufgehoben und die Welt mit sich versoenht hat.¹

We devote special attention to Rom. v. 8; Gal. i. 4; iii. 13 for in these passages the peculiar Pauline view seems to appear alongside of the traditional statements.

Even though liturgical elements are present in Rom. v. 6f.

(ἐνὲρ ἡμῶν vs. 8; ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ vs. 9), the apostle Paul does not conceive of the death of Christ in a narrow, cultic sense. Christ died for the "weak" (ἀσθενῶν v. 6), the "ungodly" (ἀσεβῶν vs. 6; cf. iv. 5), the "sinners" (ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν vs. 8) and the "enemies" (ἐχθροὶ vs. 10). This passage seems to support the contention mentioned above by Lohse that Paul accepts the early church kerygma about the death of Christ and along side of it strikes his own note of Christ's universal importance. Christ's death for the "ungodly" gives us indications about the nature of the atonement victory. In Christ God deals with all his creation:

Gottes Gnade wird immer nur in den Schwachen maechtig, Gottes Reich erbaut sich stets aus an sich anbrauchbarem Material, Gottes Gerechtigkeit erscheint als Schoepfung aus dem Nichts und als Auferweckung der Toten, und zwar im Widerspruch zu allem, was aus sich selber etwas sein und darin leben bleiben will. Es werden immer nur Gottlose gerechtfertigt ...Als Herr der Welt bekundet er [God] im Kreuze Jesu seine rechtende und doch bleibende Solidaritaet mit den Gottlosen als seinen Geschoepfen.²

¹Lohse, op. cit., p. 149.

²Ernst Kaesemann, "Paulus und Israel," Juden, Christen, Deutsche (Stuttgart: Kreuz Verlag, 1961), pp. 309f.

In that Pauline doctrine depicts all mankind as sinners (Rom. ii. 9, 19, 23), God's salvation in Christ in like manner occurs as a radical, cosmic, "once and for all"¹ counter-action. When expressing this concept of the atonement, the apostle Paul moves beyond some of the more narrow, cultic ideas of early Christian tradition.

Gal. iii. 13 may also be considered for showing again that Paul is extending the cultic emphasis of early tradition (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν v. 13) to include a universal and cosmic scope more relevant to his mission kerygma (ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γένηται. . . vs. 14). II Cor. v. 18-21 has been put forth by many commentators as an excellent explanation of Gal. iii. 13.² There is a notable similarity between these two passages:

γενόμενος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κατάρρα (Gal. iii. 13)
 ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν (II Cor. v. 21)

In order for Paul's statement in Gal. iii. 13 to make sense, one must here presuppose Christ's sinlessness as is elsewhere clearly indicated for us (II Cor. v. 21). Christ's full identification with the plight of man in this sin-possessed sphere³ meant full identification with man's destiny, death itself. Because he was righteous, the destructive forces of evil could not come forth to make their claim upon Jesus for he was not just

¹Rom. vi. 10; cf., I Pet. iii. 18.

²Cf., among others Schlier, Der Brief an die Galater, p. 94; "Den besten authentischen Kommentar zu unserer Stelle (Gal. iii. 13) bildet 2 Kr. 5, 18-21." Oepke, Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, p. 75. Lietzmann, An die Galater, p. 19.

³Cf., Rom. viii. 3; Phil. ii. 6-8.

another victim of sin's power.¹

The forms of greeting in Gal. i. 3-5 and elsewhere² have been for some time the center of much discussion which does not require detailed repetition.³ In summary, the thesis of Lohmeyer,⁴ that here we have the style of ancient-oriental and Jewish formula of letter greetings, may be accepted. There is a liturgical structure to this passage:

χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη
ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν
καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

Kramer contends that these liturgical formulas reflect a pre-Pauline tradition which evidently stems from early Christian worship.⁵ From what we have learned above, due to the liturgical structure of the

¹ Caird aptly remarks that the demonic gains control of mankind because of the "universality of sin." Christ's full identification with "sinful humanity without actually committing sin" was what the demonic powers did not know (I Cor. ii. 6f.). Christ was sinless and righteous even though becoming sin and a curse on our behalf. Cf., Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 91f.

²Cf., I Thess. i. 1; I Cor. i. 3; II Cor. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; Philem. vs. 3.

³For a discussion of the problem cf., Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, pp. 31ff. especially notes 1 and 2 p. 31 for an excellent bibliography. Kuss, op. cit., pp. 1f.; Lietzmann, An die Roemer, p. 22.

⁴For a full discussion of Lohmeyer's thesis and Friedrich's suggested correction of it cf., Kramer, op. cit., pp. 149f.

⁵He cites as evidence for his contention the speaking of God as father and the use of the full christological title κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Ibid., p. 151. Cf., also Siegfried Schulz, "Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus," ZNW, LIII (1962), p. 126.

context (Gal. i. 3-5) it is not out of character for us to suggest that in vs. 4 the apostle Paul includes a second, cosmic emphasis to an existing Jewish-Christian liturgical formula:¹

τοῦ δόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν

ὅπως

ἐξελεῖται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ

Freedom from this aeon includes release from the power of sin.² The full christological title (κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός vs. 3) would have been understood by Jew and gentile alike³ which further attests that here the apostle is conscious of his mission to the gentiles. In the similar greetings of I Cor. i. 2b where the formal titles κύριος and Ἰησοῦς Χριστός occur, the additional phrase ἐν παντί τόπῳ, αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν seems to be a deliberate attempt by Paul to clarify this cosmic importance of Christ as over against a more narrow cultic understanding.⁴

Regardless of one's final decision about these early creeds and liturgies, we may conclude two things from the Pauline pro nobis themes which seem quite significant for our inquiry into the nature of the atonement victory over sin. (1) Commentators' recognition of a close

¹Dibelius illustrates the cosmic aspect of Gal. i. 4 and relates the death of Christ to victory over this world as being similar to what is described in Phil. ii. 6-11. Cf., Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, p. 109f.

²"Unsere Sünden hielten uns an diesen Aeon, in dem das Gesetz regiert, gebunden. In Christus aber ist der neue Aeon angebrochen..." Lohse, op. cit., p. 155.

³Kramer, op. cit., pp. 149f.

⁴Cf., Wendland, Die Briefe an die Korinther, p. 11.

relationship between Gal. iii. 13 and II Cor. v. 21 give us some indication that the sinlessness of Christ plays a role in the atonement victory.¹ (2) In Rom. v. 6f. and Gal. i. 4, as we have discovered to be the case elsewhere in Paul, the cultic-juristic categories appear to be broken through: "Christ's death is not merely a sacrifice which cancels the guilt of sin (i.e. the punishment contracted by sinning), but is also the means of release from the powers of this age..."²

B. The Significance of Christ's Obedience

We now give attention to the passages referring to Adam. In this study we hope to put the right question to the relevant passages and to go beyond the question of backgrounds, although this problem also cannot be altogether ignored.

Righteousness as counter-power.---In the previous section of this chapter we became aware of the role of Christ's righteousness and sinlessness in bringing about the atonement of the ungodly. The Pauline allusion to the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ provides a bridge between the juristic-cultic ideas of sacrificial offering and the cosmic emphasis prominent in Adam typology. In this section we attempt to show how this comes about.

In Paul, righteousness is equated with salvation (Rom. iii. 24; x. 10; II Cor. v. 21; I Cor. i. 30) and the concept of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ assumes a technical usage approaching the character of a power.

¹The Pauline stress on Christ's death for the "ungodly" (Rom. v. 6f.) may have been picked up by the later church tradition as we see indicated in I Pet. iii. 18. Our suggestion is that the "righteous for the unrighteous" is a logical variant to the Pauline idea.

²Bultmann, NTT, I, pp. 297f.

In II Cor. vi. 7 and I Thess. iii. 13 righteousness is an eschatological term expressing the power-relationship with God sustaining one until the day of the Lord.¹ Righteousness is set sharply over against sin (Rom. vi. 2, 18, 19, 20; viii. 10; II Cor. vi. 14). The antithesis of righteousness versus sin appears to be interchangeable with the antithesis of God versus sin (Rom. vi. 11, 13, 22, 23). Righteousness is not an ethical goal which can be achieved by man² but is an eschatological gift accompanying Christ's entrance into our sphere.³ cf. the "parenthesis" tradition in II Cor. vi. 14-vii.

δικαιοσύνη	_____	ἀνομία
φῶς	_____	σκότος
Χριστός	_____	βελίαρ ³

Also, this same type of "parenthesis" tradition appears in Rom. xiii. 12-14 where τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός Rom. xiii. 12 should be

¹The eschatological imagery of sowing and reaping appears in those contexts which speak of righteousness in the Pauline "parenthesis." Cf., Phil. i. 11; Rom. xi. 16; I Thess. iii. 13; v. 23. This combination of righteousness and the sowing-reaping motif points out the eschatological coloring of the Pauline catechesis. Ehrhard Kamlah, Die Form der katalogischen Paraenese im Neuen Testament, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 7, herausgegeben von Joachim Jeremias und Otto Michel (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1962), p. 193. Also the possibility of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is the mark of the eschatological new age in Christ. Cf., Juengel, op. cit., p. 60.

²This is the meaning of the Pauline phrase *Νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ παρέρχεται* Rom. iii. 21. i.e. apart from man's attaining righteousness by religious striving for perfection.

³Cf., this similar dualistic structure in the traditional material of I Thess. v. 4; Gal. v. 19.

compared with διὰ τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης

II Cor. vi. 7.¹ Many of these ethical admonitions appear to recall the occasion of the believer's baptism into Christ.²

Kamlah points out how Rom. vi. 15-23, which is an excellent example of this "parenthesis" tradition, marks the radical shift from the past to the present age and is to be associated with the act of baptism.³ The concept of righteousness is placed within a radical, dualistic framework of thought in several vivid phrases of Rom. vi. 6f. This fact again helps us to understand the power-nature of δικαιοσύνη. The picture we get of pre-Christian man is one of being possessed by the demonic power of sin. Before baptism into Christ man was a body of sin, enslaved to sin (vs. 6), sin ruled ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς ὁμῶν σώματι (vs. 12), we were slaves of ἐπιθυμία (vs. 12), our members were ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ (vs. 13), and δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν (vs. 19). Being in Christ means life, (vss. 11, 13), righteousness, (vss. 13, 16, 18, 19), and grace (vs. 14). The believers are called to a new obedience, (vss. 15f.) in which they become ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης

¹ Cf., Rom. vi. 13 where men possessed by sin are as ὅπλα ἀδικίας while men in the obedience of faith are ὅπλα δικαιοσύνης.

² Kamlah offers an elaborate argument to establish this point. Kamlah, *op. cit.*, pp. 35f., 3, 13, 20, 177, 179, 203ff. "Wie naemlich die Kataloge in engem Zusammenhang mit der Taufe stehen, so ist auch die Paraenese bei Paulus und in ersten Petrusbrief, die beide ja die groessere Zahl der Belegstellen fuer Kataloge im Neuen Testament stellen, auf die Taufe bezogen." *Ibid.*, p. 177. Cf., Erich Dinkler, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus," *ZThK*, XLIX (1952), pp. 194f.

³ Cf., Kamlah, *op. cit.*, p. 179; cf., also the theme of ἀποτίθεσθαι (Rom. xiii. 12; Col. iii. 8; Ja. i. 21; I Pet. ii. 1) and ἐνδύεσθαι (Rom. xiii. 12, 14; Eph. iv. 24; vi. 11; 14; Col. iii. 10, 12). Cf., Gal. iii. 27. This "parenthesis" tradition is also associated with baptism.

(vs. 13). We may suppose also that righteousness aptly fits Paul's description of the ὅπλα τῆς στρατείας ἡμῶν οὐ σαρκικά ἀλλὰ θύνατά τῷ θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν ὀχυρωμάτων (II Cor. x. 4). Christ's kingdom is "righteousness" (Rom. xiv. 17) and only the righteous will inherit it. (I Cor. vi. 9f.).

The gift of the righteousness from God¹ becomes a power when it is allowed to take possession of us.

Gal. 2, 20 gilt: 'Nicht mehr ich lebe, sondern Christus lebt in mir.' Von daraus wird die doppelte Ausrichtung der Genetivkonstruktion [δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ] begriffen: Die hier mitgeteilte Gabe ist nicht und nie von ihrem Geber ablosbar. Sie partizipiert am Charakter der Macht, sofern in ihr Gott selber auf den Plan tritt, und mit ihr auf dem Plane bleibt. So ist mit ihr unablosbar auch Anspruch, Verpflichtung und Dienst verbunden. Wenn Gott auf den Plan tritt, erfahren wir selbst in seine Gabe die Mittel Welche uns seiner Herrschaft einordnen und damit in Verantwortung stellen.²

Thus in addition to the "parenthesis" tension "be what you are," another formulation expressing this relationship between the indicative and imperative in Pauline "parenthesis" would be: "Bleibe bei dem der gegebenen Herrn und in seiner Herrschaft."³

Through the Pauline "parenthesis" about the imperative we may see the meaning of the indicative, the atonement action of Christ. Thus we may learn something about the nature of the victory over sin.

¹Cf., supra, Chapter VII, p. 217, n. 2.

²Kaesemann, ZThK, LVIII (1961), p. 371.

³Ibid., p. 373. Again, in this interpretation the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is not an ethical ideal which man can hope to imitate. Stendahl expresses this same concern when in referring to Rom. vi. 10 he states that the death of Christ ἐφάπαξ is an event so completely distinctive that it "...cannot be translated fully and only into something repeated in the life of every individual believer." Krister Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," HTR, LVI (1963), p. 214.

The following conclusions are of importance for our study: (1) The $\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is a concept describing an other-worldly gift from God which cannot be achieved without divine intervention. (2) $\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ appears within the eschatological and radically dualistic structures of Pauline "parenthesis" tradition. (3) Participation in this $\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ by the believers' act of obedience is a participation in the lordship victory established by Christ. (4) To continue in the $\delta\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ granted by Christ is to remain within a divine power-relationship and to proclaim this atonement victory.

The one and the many.---H. Wheeler Robinson's insight into the Hebrew conception of "corporate personality" has exercised considerable influence on commentators' understanding of the Adam-Christ typology in Rom. v. 12-21.¹ According to this view the individual was conceived of in terms of the larger entity of family, clan or nation. Rom. v. 12-21 seems to deal precisely with this question: The action of the one which has effect upon the many. However, in our present section we may rightly question various interpretations emerging from this notion. We notice, for instance, an unfortunate result in the work of many who make use of this "corporate personality" concept. They tend to describe Rom. v. 12-21 only in terms of Christ's establishing the possibility of a personal fellowship² or "mystical unity" of the believer with

¹ Cf., H. Wheeler Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality", ZAW, Beiheft, LXVI (1936), pp. 49ff.; idem, The Christian Doctrine of Man (2nd Edition; Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1913), pp. 27ff. Manson, On Paul and John, p. 38; cf., further bibliography in the excursus on "corporate personality" in Schweizer, Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1955), pp. 153f.; J. A. T. Robinson, The Body, p. 13, n. 1.

² H. Wheeler Robinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man, pp. 125ff.

himself.¹ Such views neglect the obvious cosmic dimensions of the Anthropos-speculation.

It is certainly true that this collective type of thinking accurately depicts the usage of the ancient world and the Old Testament. However, we may justifiably question whether in Pauline times the "corporate personality" motif takes such prominent place in the apostle's atonement-theology as has been supposed. In more recent scholarship a strong case is made that Paul was moving freely within more than one set of ideas when he presents the cosmic and universal effect of the one for the many.² Rather than engage in an endless debate about origins for the Pauline Anthropos-speculation, a more profitable result might be realized if we attempt to show how the apostle Paul gave this traditional material his own peculiar stamp. Certainly we must be aware of the danger in supposing for this area of the Pauline atonement declarations that the apostle was dependent upon any one particular presupposition, be it "corporate personality" or any other.

So liegen in Roem. 5, 12-21, religionsgeschichtlich gesehen, gnostische, apokalyptische und doch auch juristisch-kultisch Sprache und Vorstellung ineinander. Nur waere es ein grosses Misverstaendnis darum hinsichtlich dieser Aussagen von diesen und jenen Einflussen, Abhaengigkeiten u.ae. zu reden.³

¹ Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 79f.

² Of particular interest is Schweizer's excursus "Der Urmensch" which offers an excellent summary of the current literature and shows clearly the complexities of ideas from Iranian religion, Hellenistic Judaism and Gnosticism which contain striking parallels to Rom. v. 12-21. Cf., Schweizer, Erniedrigung und Erhoehung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern, pp. 154-160.

³ Egon Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, p. 247.

The Pauline use of the Adam-speculation.---The mythical-cosmic background to the line of argument in Rom. v. 12-21 must be recognized.¹ We attempted to show in Chapter II how recent scholarship has forced us to reconsider the Gnostic saved-saviour motif and has made quite persuasive arguments that the Adam-speculation is more likely a product of Hellenistic Judaism. At present our concern is to show where Paul's own theology breaks through this mythological tradition.

The literary structure of vss. 12-21 itself shows the break-up of any comparison between the mythical Adam-speculation and the event of Christ. Referring to vs. 12, Bultmann says:

The sentence is an "anacoluthon"; for the "as" (ὥστε) finds no correlative in the final clause. With the "as" (ὥς) in verse 18 it is taken up again later. The sentence is immediately interrupted by a parenthesis in verses 13ff. Then, however, instead of the expected analogy between Adam and Christ expressed by "as...in this manner" (ὥστε . . . οὕτως), the difference in this analogy is described with the expression "but it is not the same...as" ('Αλλ' οὐχ ὥς . . . οὕτως) (vs. 15).²

The discussion of the law and the universality of sin and death indicated in vss. 13-14 forms a parenthesis in the structure of vss. 12-21. In vss. 15-17, another parenthesis, the utter dissimilarity between Adam

¹ Bultmann states that in Karl Barth's interpretation of Romans v. (Christ and Adam, Man and Humanity in Romans 5) much is "'demythologized' although in a questionable manner" so that Adam becomes the idea of man. Rudolf Bultmann, "Adam and Christ According to Romans 5," Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation, p. 165.

² Bultmann, "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5," p. 152.

and Christ is illustrated.¹ After firmly establishing these qualifying statements (vss. 13-14; 15-17), the apostle Paul can venture a formal parallel structure in vss. 18-19, 21. Even here, however, as is the case in vss. 15-17, the essential interest is to show the incomparability of Adam and Christ:

(vs. 18) ὥς
δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος
εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους
εἰς κατάκριμα

οὕτως καὶ
δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος
εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους
εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς

(vs. 19) ὥσπερ γὰρ
διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ
ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρτώλοι
κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί

οὕτως καὶ
διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς
δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται
οἱ πολλοί

(vs. 21) ὥσπερ
ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία
ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ

οὕτως καὶ
ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ
διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν
αἰώνιον ——— διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

Bornkamm offers an interesting explanation for the unusual structure of Rom. v. 12-21:

¹ In an admirable discussion of vss. 15-17 Brandenburger shows how these verses form an explanation and clarification of 14b (τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος). 'Αλλ' οὐχ ὥς (15a) and καὶ οὐχ ὥς (16a) are qualifying phrases meant to illustrate the utter dissimilarity between Adam and Christ. The comparison is also broken by the repetition of the phrase πολλοὶ μάλλον (15b, 17b) denoting the eschatological otherness of the gift of grace. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, pp. 219ff.

Warum also bricht Paulus den so gross angelegten Vergleich zunachst wieder ab und fuehrt ihn erst in spaeterer Stelle zum Ende? Es braucht nicht erst gesagt zu werden, das das Anakoluth mehr ist als ein stilistisches Versehen oder der blosser Niederschlag einer Ausdruck fuer die Indienstnahme und zugleich die Brechung einer mythischen Konzeption der Geschichte, deren juedische Elemente in der Lehre von Erbfluch und Erbtod und im Schema der Beiden Aeonen erkennbar sind, waehrend die Lehre vom ersten und zweiten Menschen offensichtlich der Gnosis entstammt.

Bornkamm continues to illustrate how by two peculiar emphases of Pauline thought a comparison between Adam and Christ is avoided. This breaks down the mythical conceptions of our passage. (1) Sin is to be understood as man's responsible deed. In vs. 12 the phrase ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν (cf., ὁ θάνατος διῆλθεν) strikes a mythical note and seems to personify sin as a ruling power. Paul, however, balances this mythical concept by also affirming man's responsibility for sin (ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον).² (2) Grace is conceived of as the "much more" (πολλῷ μᾶλλον) which cannot be compared with man's past slavery to sin and death.

The radical disparity between Adam and Christ is so strongly emphasized by Paul that we must regard them as the founders of two aeons of humanity. Paul's refusal explicitly to compare Adam and Christ leads also to the conclusion that: "Der im gnostischen Mythos tragende Gedanke der in ihrer himmlischen Abkunft gruendenden Verwandtschaft des ersten und zweiten Menschen hat darum bei Paulus keinen Raum."³ As seen in

¹ Bornkamm, "Paulinische Anakoluthe," DEdG, p. 89.

² "Sin came into the world through sinning," Bultmann, "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5," p. 152. For a discussion of how sin can be both a demonic power and man's own responsible action cf., our chapter on the history of scholarship, supra, Chapter IV., pp. 140ff.

³ Bornkamm, "Paulinische Anakoluthe," DEdG, p. 90.

this passage the atonement-theology of Paul presents Adam and Christ as representatives of two completely different worlds. Thus again we must recognize the eschatological aspect of God's salvation in Christ.

Mit der Typologie der Rechtfertigung in Christus, als der Wurzel der neuen Menschheit, steht der eschatologische Charakter der Rechtfertigung in genauer Verbindung. Denn als solcher Typus war die Erscheinung des Christus von Gott vom Anfang des Heilsplans fuer die letzte Erdenzeit gemeint.

Our first conclusion from this passage is that there is a cosmic meaning in Christ's atonement death. By this action an eschatological lordship of grace is established.² By taking up the Anthropos-category to express Christ's universal deed of atonement, this implies that Paul again goes beyond the language of sacrifice.³

Einer starb fuer alle, darum gelten sie alle als gestorben (2 Kor. 5, 14). Der alte Aeon ist nun zu Ende, denn nicht nur dem alten Gottesvolk, sondern aller Welt gilt das Erloesungswerk Christi. Diese Weite des Heils hebt Paulus hervor, indem er Roem. 5, 12ff. an die Worte ueber die Versoehnung die Gegenueberstellung von Christus und Adam anschliesst...Paulus denkt umgekehrt vom Kreuz Christi

¹ Hans Hoser, Die Rechtfertigungsverkuendung des Paulus nach neuer Forschung (Guetersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1940), p. 51.

² For further evidence upon this cosmic emphasis of Christ's death as the bringing of the new aeon cf., Schrenk, "Der Roemerbrief als Missionsdokument," Studien zu Paulus, pp. 94f.; Nils Alstrup Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, Eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenbewusstsein des Urchristentums (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), p. 250; Nygren, Commentary on Romans, pp. 206f.; Goppelt, ThLZ, LXXXIX (1964), cols. 324ff.

³ Brandenburger states that with Rom. v. 12-21 Paul brings a new understanding to the tradition (cf., Rom. iii. 24f.; iv. 25; v. 9). In the early church tradition Christ's death is understood in terms of cultic and covenant theology. Paul here goes beyond these concepts by taking up the "Anthropos-Kategorie" to express Christ's universal deed of atonement. Brandenburger, op. cit., pp. 236ff.

her und entfaltet dessen universale Bedeutung im Vergleich mit der Suende und dem Ungehorsam Adams.

We now need to ask how this cosmic upheaval is brought about.

Christ's act of obedience.---We have seen that Romans v. 12-21 portrays a cosmic dimension to Pauline atonement-theology. It is important that we recognize the central place of Christ's obedience in this shift of the aeons and conquest of sin's demonic power over man.

In Paul, obedience is equated with faith.² Obedience appears at the heart of the established Pauline "parenthesis" tradition (Rom. vi. 12f.; Phil. ii. 12f.) and is the pre-requisite for righteousness (Rom. vi. 13, 16, 18), the kingdom of grace (vs. 13), sanctification (vs. 19) and the eternal life (vss. 22, 23). Obedience of faith opens up the possibility of becoming "blameless," "innocent," "children of God without blemish" (Phil. ii. 15).

In Rom. v. 18-19, 21 the demonic reign of sin is shattered by Christ's sinless act of obedience. "Obedience and disobedience are separated from each other like heaven and hell, life from death."³ In vss. 18-19, 21 disobedience is related to παράπτωμα, κατάκριμα, ἁμαρτωλοί and the kingdom of sin (ἐβασίλευσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία

¹ Lohse, op. cit., p. 159.

² Rom. i. 5; xvi. 26; cf., Rom. xv. 18; cf., also Rom. xvi. 19 with Rom. i. 8.

³ Eduard Schweizer, "The disciples of Jesus and the post resurrection Church," Neotestamentica, p. 242. Michel states that obedience is an eschatological concept. Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 143.

ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ vs. 21). The trouble with those who would speak only of the moral example¹ or "kognitive Charakter"² of Christ's atonement action is precisely their failure to see the apocalyptic-eschatological elements, the demonic power of sin and cosmic significance of man's continued disobedience.³ Humanity's disobedience is a cosmic evil which no moralistic understanding of sin can grasp. As pictured by Paul, disobedience is seen as a Satanic position of counter-action, hating (Rom. viii. 7) and being hated by God, being an enemy subject to divine wrath (Rom. v. 10; xi. 28). Paul speaks of Christ's atonement action in terms of the bringing about of righteousness, reconciliation and cosmic peace; a victory over enemies and breaking down of hostility is clearly implied.⁴ Christ's sinless obedience⁵ secures righteousness,

¹ Cf., Albrecht Ritschl, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, pp. 446f., 669, 664, 647, et passim.

² C. Haufe, Die sittliche Rechtfertigungslehre des Paulus (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1957), p. 121. There is a sense in which one can say that Christ's holiness makes it possible for all to see for the first time the demonic nature of man's sin. Richard Löwe, Kosmos und Aion, p. 92. However, too often the cognitive character of the cross is interpreted in terms of Ritschlian theology.

³ In his estrangement from God, man reaches the point of no escape, being possessed and enslaved by his sin. Thus Liechtenhan remarks that for the Stoic the "Sieg ueber das Fatum...Ist sein persoenerlicher Triumph; Paulus aber erkennt alles als Geschenk." R. Liechtenhan, "Die Ueberwindung des Leides bei Paulus und in der Zeitgenoessischen Stoa," ZThK, III, (1922), p. 395.

⁴ For a discussion of the New Testament evidence showing the interrelationship of righteousness, reconciliation and peace cf., Bultmann, NTT, I, pp. 285f. In Rom. xiv. 17 peace is an eschatological concept and in Rom. ii. 10 and viii. 6 it occurs as meaning salvation and life, Ibid., pp. 339f.

⁵ It is possible, as Bornkamm suggests, that obedience is not confined to one deed on the cross but is descriptive of Christ's entire mission on earth (Phil. ii. 6-8). Bornkamm, "Paulinische Anakoluthe," DEdG, p. 88. Although we cannot address ourselves to this most difficult problem, it is worth suggesting that if Bornkamm is correct, this fact would seem to give some evidence that elements of the historical Jesus (viz. Christ's righteousness and life of obedience, cf., II Cor. v. 21) were important for Paul. This view would be in contrast to Bultmann, "Die Bedeutung des geschichtlichen Jesus fuer die Theologie des Paulus," GluV, I, pp. 213, 188f.

life, peace and "access" (Rom. v. 2) to God whereas before we were enemies, possessed by our sin, unable to please God, depending only upon this sphere of flesh (Rom. viii. 7), content with a " σάρξ -only" existence. As in Adam's disobedience man lost his position of lordship over the cosmos and by his continual sinning became victimized by destructive powers of this sphere, so in Christ's obedience there is implied a reversal of this cosmic defeat and restoration of the lost creation to God.¹ In Rom. xi. 32 Paul declares: "For God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all."² Understood from this passage we may suggest that Rom. v. 18-19, 21 depicts Christ as the only obedient one ever to live in this sphere of the flesh.³ The hope for Israel and the world is the same: The salvation of the disobedient, the "ungodly" (Rom. v. 6) and the "sinners" (vs. 8) through the act of the only, truly obedient one.⁴ Because the death of Christ is the ultimate "amen" of obedience, not only the resurrection but also the cross may be understood in terms of victory.⁵ Sin obtained a

¹C. K. Barrett, From First Adam to Last (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1962), pp. 9f. 15f. 72f. 101, 115f. Cf., Chapter IX for a more complete discussion of this theme.

²Michel says "Gedanklich ist die These V. 32 Abschluss und Grundmotiv des ganzen Abschnittes Roem. 9-11." Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 285.

³Whiteley's position on the atonement, that Christ shared all human experiences, except sin, in order that we might participate in his life, clearly implies victory over sin through Christ's sinless obedience. Cf., D. E. H. Whiteley, The Theology of St. Paul (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), pp. 130ff.

⁴Cf., Kaesemann, "Paulus und Israel," p. 311.

⁵Cf., Rom. vi. 7; I Cor. i. 24; II Cor. ii. 14; Phil. ii. 6f. Stauffer argues that early Christianity thought of the cross as power: "...the weapon that Christ used in his victory over hell was the cross." Stauffer, NTT, p. 148.

"bridgehead," entered the world through one man, Adam, and grew to demonic proportions infecting the whole cosmos "because all men sinned" (Rom. v. 12). So too in the one obedient Christ, righteousness has obtained a "bridgehead" in our sphere of the flesh and becomes available to all through man's continuing in the δικαιοσύνη -power and the new obedience of faith (Rom. v. 12f.).¹ Obedience, then for Paul is a radical, eschatological concept:

...durch den Gehorsam Christi ein umfassender Herrschaftswechsel stattgefunden hat. Die die Menschheit des alten Aeons beherrschende Macht der Suende, die ihre Herrschaft durch die Macht des Todes ausübte, ist gebrochen. Ueber die gleiche Menschenwelt ist die heilbringende Macht der Gnade hereingebrochen, die einen neuen Herrschaftsbereich erschlossen hat, der aber sogleich als geschichtlicher Heilsbereich gekennzeichnet wird: wirksam in der Gegenwart als Zuspruch der durch die die Zukunft als ζωὴ αἰώνιος eröffnet ist ἡ χάρις βασιλείᾳ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον vgl. v. 17b. 18b).²

¹One must be careful in understanding Pauline "salvation in Christ against the background of what we may term the 'presupposition of the firstfruits.'" Pedersen, Israel its Life and Culture (1940), pp. 300-301, apud, Whiteley, op. cit., p. 132. Human solidarity in Christ is certainly important for Paul's doctrine of the church. Cf., Russell Philip Shedd, Man in Community, pp. 126ff. But the analogy of "firstfruits" breaks down when one attempts to make a connection with the death of Christ: (1) In Paul, Christ's death on the cross is never referred to as a sacrificial ἀπαρχή (though his resurrection is called the "first fruits" I Cor. xv. 20, 23). (2) Christ's victory over sin becomes our victory not automatically, by our corporate unity with Christ, but in so far as we are united with Christ through baptism and new obedience of faith. Cf., in this respect C. K. Barrett's discussion on universal salvation and the need for obedience of faith, From First Adam to Last, pp. 109f.

²Brandenburger, op. cit., p. 254.

The obedience of Christ in the modern interpretation¹ of Phil. ii. 6-11.---Since Lohmeyer's study² scholarship has come to recognize the pre-Pauline, hymn-character of Phil. ii. 6-11. His findings opened up a long-standing debate which continues to the present day as to whether these verses (especially vs. 7) more accurately reflect the pre-existent son of man and suffering servant

¹For the literature on Phil. ii. 6-11 cf., Wegenast, op. cit., p. 84, n. 1; F. W. Beare, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1959), pp. 40ff. Louis Ligier, Péché d'Adam et Péché du Monde (Aubier: no publishing house given, 1961), p. 346, n. 95.

²Ernst Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5-11, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften philosophisch-historische Klasse (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1928); cf., idem, Der Brief an die Philipper (12 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1961), pp. 90ff.

concepts of Judaism¹ or the Gnostic "Urmensch-Erloeser" myth.² It has

¹ Those sympathizing with this view include: R. P. Martin, An Early Christian Confession (London: The Tyndale Press, 1960), pp. 25f.; J. Jeremias, TWNT, V, p. 708; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism, p. 274; Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 76 [Cullmann says only that the "'idea' of the vicarious suffering of the Servant of God is undoubtedly present" in Phil. ii. 7]; Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, p. 36; idem, Gottesknecht und Davidsohn (2 Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), pp. 6f.; Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5-11," Theologie als Glaubenswagnis, Festschrift fuer Karl Heim zum 80 Geburtstag (Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1954), p. 89; J. Jeremias, "Zur Gedankenfuehrung in den paulinischen Briefen," Studia Paulina in honorem Johannis de Zwaan, p. 154. P. Benoit holds this interpretation as a possibility, Les Épitres de Saint Paul aux Philippiens, A Philémon, aux Colossiens, aux Ephésiens (Paris: Les Éditions due Cerf, 1959), p. 27. For further bibliography cf., Wegenast, op. cit., p. 84, n. 2. Schweizer remarks, however, that in the Old Testament the servant of God concept does not appear as a Messianic title. "Nun liesse sich denken, dass der Titel Gottesknecht frueh schon verschwunden waere, weil er der hellenistischen Gemeinde unverstaendlich bleib, und weil die Hoheit Jesu ihr wichtiger wurde als seine Niedrigkeit und sein Gehorsam." Erniedrigung und Erhoehung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern, p. 83; cf., Beare, Philippians, pp. 76f.; Morna D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (London: SFOCK, 1959), pp. 120f.

² Bultmann, NTT, I, pp. 175, 298. More recently we have been given cause to suspect the Gnostic "saved saviour" mythology for interpreting Phil. ii. 6-11. Cf., Colpe, Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule, pp. 58, 62. Kaesemann, in more general terms, affirms for Phil. ii. 6-11 a dramatic and mythical scheme of the saviour's existence in three spheres, as the pre-existent one in heaven, as man on earth, and in death or in the underworld. In vs. 10 this scheme is again evident as Christ is declared $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ over the three spheres of heaven, earth and the underworld. Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," EVuB, pp. 57ff. Even though Lohmeyer favors the Jerusalem tradition of the early church as the background for interpreting Phil. ii. 6-11, he also recognizes this mythical and dramatic structure of our passage. Cf., Lohmeyer, Kyrios Christos, p. 43. Barnikol sees this same mythical scheme but considers it relevant only for vss. 9-10. Ernst Barnikol, Philipper 2, Der Marcionitische Ursprung des Mythos-Satzes Phil. 2, 6-7 (Kiel, Walter G. Muehlau Verlag, 1932), pp. 21ff.

been pointed out that Phil. ii. 6-11 contains material traceable to several possible sources of thought in the early Hellenistic and Jerusalem church traditions and Gnosticism.¹ For the present we leave off answering many of these questions in detail in order to concentrate our attention upon a form-critical study of the particular Pauline ideas which emerge from within this traditional material.

Although several outlines of the hymn have been suggested² we will use Strecker's reconstruction as a point of reference:

I. 6. ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων
οὐχ ἄρπαγμόν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ

7. ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν
μορφῇ δούλου λαβών

ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος
καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος

¹Cf., Kraemer who prefers for the origins of the Phil. ii. 6-11 hymn various "Erniedrigung und Erhöhung" traditions probably coming from the early Hellenistic-Christian community. Kramer, op. cit., p. 120; Schweizer, Erniedrigung und Erhöhung bei Jesus und seinen Nachfolgern, pp. 135f. Cf., also II Cor. viii. 9, a parallel to the Phil. ii. hymn, where there is no evidence of the servant concept in Christ's humiliation of himself.

²Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus, pp. 5ff.; J. Jeremias, "Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen," pp. 152-154 represent the two constructions of the Phil. 2 hymn which have received the most attention.

[8. ἑταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου
θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ]¹

II. 9. Διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν
καὶ ἔχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ὑπὲρ πάν ὄνομα

10. ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πάν γόνυ κάμψῃ
ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων

11. καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται
ὅτι κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς

The fact that Christ obeyed is all-important for the Philippian hymn.²
This obedience of Christ and the Pauline addition to the hymn θανάτου
δὲ σταυροῦ (vs. 8) firmly set God's atonement action in historical
event and thus break through the mythical structure of our traditional
passage. We noticed that this was also true of Rom. v. 12-21 in a
similar way:

¹Strecker regards the whole of verse 8 as a Pauline addition to the traditional material. This is an expansion of Lohmeyer's idea which regarded only θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ as the Pauline gloss, cf., *Kyrios Christos*, p. 44. Strecker's best reason for including the whole of vs. 8 as a Pauline commentary on this traditional material is the fact that, as opposed to the "hapaxlegomena" in the remaining parts of the hymn (μορφῇ, ἀρπαγμός, ἴσος, ὑπερυψοῦν, καταχθόνιος) ὑπήκοος appears in II Cor. ii. 9 and ὑπακοή, ὑπακοῦν appear often in Paul. For further arguments cf., Georg Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christushymnus Phil. 2," *ZNW*, LV (1964), p. 71, n. 34. Strecker's argument here is not conclusive. However, regardless of our final decision on this verse, it is true to say that obedience, death and cross are all terms used in Paul's own theology.

²Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Philippians* (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 65; Manson, *On Paul and John*, p. 24. It is possible that the contrast with Adam's disobedience is reflected in the phrase οὐχ ἀρπαγμόν Cf., Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus*, pp. 23f.; Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, pp. 70ff.; Lampe, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Ligier, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

Als bald wuerde alles Gesagte zu einem mythischen Drama, das geradezu klassisch die Grundgedanken des gnostischen Erloesungs- und Erloesermythus von der Herabkunft des Lichtgesandten in die Welt- und Erdensphaere des gefallen Menschen ausspraecht, der im gnostischen Mythos die Rueckkehr des Erloesers mit den erloesten Seelen ins Lichtreich folgt. Fuer den Phil 2 gemeinten Gehorsam in Niedrigkeit und das leibhaftige Sterben — den Tod am Kreuz — hat jener Mythos in der Tat keinen Raum.¹

Michel regards Rom. viii. 3 as a paraphrase of Phil. ii. 6-11.

"Nur im wirklichen und konkreten Menschsein Jesu konnte die Suende verurteilt werden."² According to Kaesemann μορφὴν δούλου λαβών does not mean taking the role of the servant of God³ but Christ's assuming the existence of man, entering the power-sphere of the demonic rulers of this age.⁴ Obedience is an eschatological event which, as in Rom. v. 18-19, 21, brings life and righteousness to this sphere. The high point of this obedience is seen in the phrase μέχρι θανάτου : "So sind Inkarnation und Tod zusammengehoerig: in beiden geht es um das Eingehen in den Bereich der Maechte..."⁵ The giving of the new name

¹ Bornkamm, "Zum Verstaendnis der Christus-Hymnus Phil 2, 6-11," Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1959), p. 182.

² Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5-11," p. 90.

³ Bornkamm suggests good reasons for rejecting the "servant of God" concept of Isa. liii as a means of interpreting vs. 7. Cf., "Zum Verstaendnis des Christus-Hymnus Phil 2, 6-11," pp. 178f.; cf., also Strecker, op. cit., p. 73.

⁴ ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ vs. 6 and μορφὴν δούλου λαβών vs. 7 represent respectively the two spheres of heaven and earth. Cf., Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," pp. 73f. Wegenast, op. cit., pp. 87f.; Brandenburger, op. cit., p. 236.

⁵ Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," EVuB, p. 81.

(vs. 9f.) of KYPIOΣ IΘEOYΞ XPIETOΣ signifies lordship over the world and its powers.¹ Christ's lordship over this age is a victorious "already." As *κύριος* Christ is "Herr des neuen Aeons ...Gott in seiner Relation zur Welt...Nur durch ihn handelt Gott — im Sinne von I Kor. 15, 28 wird man sagen: bis zur Parusie! — mit dem Kosmos."² In Phil. iii. 20-21, probably material from the same type of tradition, man's hope for victory is expressed as being in the future.³ Although in Pauline "parenthesis" our obedience of faith is called for⁴ there is indeed a sense in which Christ's act of obedience can never be an ethical ideal for our imitation.⁵ We start to see therefore the error of speaking of Christ as the "new" Adam⁶ or "new" Moses⁷ or here

¹Dibelius, Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus, pp. 107f.; "Diese Inthronisation des Erniedrigten ist nicht auf die Gemeinde eingeschränkt sondern offenbart seine nunmehr angebrochene Weltherrschaft." Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5-11," p. 95.

²Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," EVuB, p. 85. Wegenast describes the *ἐν κυρίῳ* 'Inoũ phrase of vs. 5 as representing the "Herrschaftsbereich Christi" op. cit., p. 89.

³Strecker, op. cit., pp. 76f.

⁴Notice the *ὅτι* of vs. 12 which follows the hymn introducing the ethical instruction, again as if to say therefore "Be what you are!"

⁵Er [Christ] offenbart Gehorsam, aber er macht ihn nicht zur Imitation vor." Kaesemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5-11," EVuB, p. 81.

⁶Paul resisted this strict parallel, cf., supra, pp. 261ff. Christ is the "last Adam" I Cor. xv. 45.

⁷Cf., our argument with reference to II Cor. iii. 7ff. supra, Chapter VI, pp. 188-192.

in Phil ii as the "new" servant of God after the pattern of Isa. liii. This event of Christ's obedience was so completely "other" that only the mythical drama of invasion from another world could begin to grasp what Paul had in mind in depicting the cosmic significance of Christ's established lordship victory.

Summary and Conclusion.---Starting from our definition of sin as a power taking possession of man, our purpose in this chapter was to see how the atonement might be thought of in terms of the Christus Victor motif. We were forced to examine the area of Pauline atonement-theology in general since many of the New Testament passages which speak only of sin are not appropriate for our study.¹

We found that the cosmological significance of Christ's atonement action was not a late addition but at the very heart of the Pauline mission kerygma. We see evidences for the emergence of another tradition alongside the juristic-cultic emphasis of the Jerusalem community in which the universal importance of Christ is distinguished. In Pauline "parenthesis" the continual admonition to remain in righteousness suggests the death of Christ secured for those "in him" a relationship of righteousness before God. Without presupposing in this action Christ's sinlessness and righteousness it would be impossible to interpret the Pauline atonement-theology. In Paul, righteousness and reconciliation were found to be related concepts. Reconciliation of the world and the establishment of cosmic peace are two characteristically Pauline ideas which are found in the apostle's mission kerygma. The apostle Paul is aware of Hellenistic

¹ For example in respect to our question of the nature of the victory over sin, Paul finishes chapter vi of Romans only with the declaration "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord" (vs. 25).

"Enthusiasmus" and balances the doxological character of Christ's cosmological reconciliation by "parenesis" and a call for new obedience. Christ's death for the "weak," the "ungodly," the "sinners" and the "enemies" seems again to reflect the universal, non-cultic aspect of this salvation occurrence. God grants *δixαιoσύνη* through Christ. This gift is not obtainable by man due to his sin. The other-worldly character of this gift is pointed out by the thesis-antithesis structure of Pauline "parenesis." Only the righteous one could bring to man God's righteousness. Before baptism man is possessed and enslaved by sin. His inauguration into Christ is a cosmic event which means a shift of lordships in which the believer must now continue in righteousness, life and grace by the obedience of faith. In Rom. v. 12-21 the Pauline interpretation breaks through the mythical-cosmic aspects of the Anthropos-speculation to focus upon the historical particularity of Christ's obedience as the means by which righteousness, life and grace are brought to sinful man. The break-down of a strict parallelism pictures Adam and Christ as representatives of two completely different worlds. Christ's act of sinless obedience, even to the death of the cross, must be seen as victory over the power of temptation and sin. In this interpretation of obedience, understood against the background of sin as an enslaving, demonic power, there is no place for a moralistic doctrine of the atonement. Christ's act of obedience must never be interpreted as an ethical ideal after which the Christian must strive, although, in fact, the ethical admonition for our obedience in Pauline "parenesis" is described as imitation. Christ's obedience and our disobedience must be seen in all their cosmic and eschatological dimensions. Disobedience, for Paul, is no mere slipped cog in man's moral machinery but a counter-position of Satanic rebellion against God.

This is all the more clearly stated in the hymn of Phil. ii. 6-11 where Christ's obedience to the death of the cross is no doubt a Pauline addition to the tradition. Thus again the apostle Paul both uses and breaks through the cosmic-mythological presuppositions to lay stress upon universal lordship through historical event, victory over all in the obedient one. Christ's action establishes lordship over all creation. Our victory is through him in hope. We do not ourselves attain this victory but receive it as a gift and proclaim it by the new obedience of faith.

Thus we may conclude that Christ's incarnation meant breaking into a completely "other" sphere where man, possessed by sin, continues in rebellion, setting up a united power front, a counter-kingdom of evil. The unparalleled act of Christ's sinless obedience sets up in our sphere a "bridgehead" of holiness, the only "safe ground" from the demonic power of sin. The believer participates in and proclaims this victory by identification with Christ in baptism and obedience of faith.

CHAPTER IX

THE NATURE OF THE VICTORY OVER DEATH

In Chapter V we recognized that recent New Testament scholarship could conceive of death as a demonic entity because of its close alliance with the power of sin and its role in destroying the life-relationship meant to exist between man and God. Death ranks among the powers and enemies of this age (I Cor. xv. 24ff.) which are to be totally destroyed at the parousia. In this chapter we need to consider those passages in Paul which would point to the nature of Christ's victory over death. The Christian believer's present hope for conquest of death will also be an essential concern of this study.

In our present chapter some problems will require special and detailed attention. Again, we must be aware of the extreme difficulty in separating the Pauline doctrines of sin and death even for the sake of discussion. Another barrier to this type of study is that there seems to be in the Pauline theology no single or systematic presentation of Christ's victory over death. We must therefore rely upon more general passages of scripture to throw light upon our question. Certainly, much of what will be said about Christ's victory over death could also be applied to a discussion of the defeat of flesh, law or sin. This is to be expected since we have already acknowledged the inter-relationship of these key terms in the Pauline atonement-theology.

In this chapter we cannot avoid the various problems being raised by modern interpretations of the resurrection. It will be

noticed, however, that alongside of the traditional and confessional statements about the resurrection faith, Paul places elements of "creation theology"¹ which present the cosmic importance of Christ's victory over death. Although we have made various allusions throughout this work to the cosmic significance of Christ's atonement action, in this chapter we treat specifically the question of the case for a cosmic Christology within the context of the Pauline use of creation traditions. In relating these discussions to death we shall again insist that within the heart of Pauline theology there exists a constant stress upon the cosmological significance of the incarnation and reconciling action of Christ.

A. The Resurrection in Modern Scholarship

We introduce into the discussion this question of the resurrection in present day scholarship² to set up proper guidelines in approaching the Pauline doctrine of victory over death.

Especially in the last few years, one can see that scholarship is not content with describing the resurrection only in terms of the "Easter faith" of the early church.³

We notice in the comprehensive study by von Campenhausen an attempt to get behind the faith of the early church and to affirm the

¹The term "creation theology" will be used throughout this chapter to specify those passages in Paul which may be taken as reflecting a knowledge of the Genesis creation tradition.

²Cf., the discussion of modern views of Pauline resurrection soteriology in David Michael Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, Analecta Biblica, Investigationes Scientifical in Res Biblicas, 13 (Romae: E. Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1961), pp. 4-22.

³Cf., Bultmann, NTT, I, pp. 292ff.

historical veracity of these early accounts and traditions.¹ Though such studies as those by von Campenhausen are essential and certainly to be commended, one doubts whether the apostle Paul or his audience was as sceptical about the historical validity of the resurrection as is contemporary western man. Resurrection from the dead was not the same intellectual problem to the ancient world² as it might seem to be for modern minds. Hans Grass shows, for instance, that Paul did not need to engage in long debates over the historicity of the empty grave: "...bei Paulus weder eine Kenntnis vom leeren Grabe noch ein sonderliches Interesse am leeren Grabe vorausgesetzt werden darf."³ The Pauline "proofs" for the resurrection were the "appearances" (I Cor. xv. 1ff.) of the risen Lord to the faithful, a quite different manner of authentication than what a modern historian might choose.⁴ The absence

¹ Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Der Ablauf der Osterereignisse und das leere Grab," Tradition und Leben, Kraefte der Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1960), pp. 65ff., 68f., 93f., 95f., 107f., 112f.

² There is evidence in Judaism for a belief in the resurrection of the dead by about the second century B.C. Cf., Lietzmann, An die Korinther, p. 87. Even the opponents in the Corinthian community (I Cor. xv. 12ff.) objected only to a general resurrection of the dead without necessarily doubting the resurrection of Christ. Héring, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians, p. 163.

³ Hans Grass, Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte (2 erweiterte Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), p. 173. Kaesemann describes the study by Hans Grass as one of the most significant on this subject in modern New Testament scholarship. Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Neutestamentlicher Sammelbericht," Verkuendigung und Forschung (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1960), p. 102.

⁴ Both von Campenhausen and Grass, however, convincingly demonstrate that we have no grounds for believing these "appearances" might be "subjective visions." Cf., von Campenhausen, op. cit., pp. 61ff.; Grass, op. cit., pp. 233ff.

of detailed argument on the resurrection must not lead us to suppose that the cross was necessarily more important for the apostle's theology.¹ The meaning of the resurrection for "modern man" must remain a problem for hermeneutics and apologetics.² Exegesis must do its best to understand the Pauline presuppositions. There can be no doubt that the apostle accepted the historical worth of the resurrection traditions.³ Rengstorf readily concedes the importance of methods employed in such studies as those by von Campenhausen and Grass in their concern to trace the forms of these resurrection traditions, their unity and differences. However, Rengstorf feels that one must go beyond these questions to take account of the resurrection in relationship to the cross and exaltation of Christ.⁴ The historicity of the resurrection is not argued but

¹ We must keep in mind when we notice in Paul the absence of any detailed argument on the resurrection that the apostle faced opposition other than from those who were sceptical over the problem of resurrection. Therefore, for example, in the letter to Corinth Paul had to emphasize also the importance of the death of Christ in order to counteract the heresy which would denigrate the historicity of the incarnation event. Cf., Eduard Schweizer, "Das Abendmahl eine Vergegenwaertigung des Todes Jesu oder ein eschatologisches Freudenmahl," *ThZ*, II (1946), p. 95.

² Cf., Kurt Froer, *Biblische Hermeneutik, Zur Schriftauslegung in Predigt und Unterricht* (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1961), pp. 341-358.

³ Cf., Stanley, *op. cit.*, pp. 119f.

⁴ Karl H. Rengstorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu* (4 neue bearbeitete Auflage; Witten/Ruhr: Luther Verlag, 1960), pp. 17f. The doctrine of the resurrection in itself is not sufficient to comprehend the breadth of the Pauline idea of victory over death. We find, for instance, in I Cor. xv the doctrine of the heavenly man and dramatic mythology as elements of Christ's victory over death.

assumed by Paul as the reliable and credible tradition of the early church.¹ The resurrection event comes to us in the form of confession and prayer, and is to be seen as part of our Christian hope through Christ.²

In this chapter we will attempt to illustrate how the apostle inherits these traditions of resurrection and moves beyond them; he engages in a theologizing of the kerygma to proclaim for the Hellenistic world the cosmic significance of this new age in which God has created life out of death for the believer and for the world. Lindeskog, among others, believes that the resurrection faith is tantamount to the covenant God makes with his creation, i.e. God brings life from death, order from chaos and light from darkness.³ Immediately, one sees the possibilities in such an insight for illustrating within the Pauline theology the cosmic importance of the resurrection and Christ's victory over death. Death, in fact, is a demonic power and a curse upon the whole creation.⁴ Because this was the Christian concept of death, the Pauline Christus Victor answer rejects outright the easy way out of the intellectual difficulties which may be found in doctrines of the immortality of the

¹ Ibid., pp. 97f.

² For this reason Rissi can say that even the baptism for the dead in I Cor. xv. 29 is an "Akt der Proklamation und des Bekenntnisses, mit dem die Auferstehungshoffnung fuer bestimmte verstorbene Menschen bezeugt wurde." Mathis Rissi, Die Taufe fuer die Toten (Zuerich: Zwingli Verlag, 1962), p. 87.

³ Gosta Lindeskog, Studien zum Neutestamentlichen Schoepfungs-gedanken, pp. 264ff.

⁴ Cf., Oscar Cullmann, ThZ, XII (1956), p. 137.
[ET] Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead, p. 26.

soul: "Die Idee von der unsterblichen Seele, so tiefsinnig, schoen, menschlich sie erscheint, ist saechlich eine Verharmlosung der Todeserfahrung. Sie sieht den Tod aus einer Distanz, welche im Augenblick der eigenen Erfahrung unwirklich wird; sie erkennt ihn nicht in seiner ganzen Tiefe als den je eigenen."¹

Our concern in this chapter is to understand the Pauline affirmations of the resurrection more completely by concentrating upon what seems to be the apostle's theologizing of these resurrection traditions as he attempts to fashion the gospel to portray Christ's cosmic significance in a situation of mission to the gentiles.

B. The Relevance of Creation Theology

Creation Theology in Paul.---In this section we will attempt to show that creation theology occupies a prominent place in Pauline theology. In Rom. i; v. 12ff.; I Cor. viii. and Phil. ii. 6ff., man's misuse of God's gift of creation, as is typical in Old Testament doctrine, converts God's blessing of creation into a curse. According to Pauline theology mankind's disobedience and pride, the over-stepping of his rights assigned at his creation and his desire to ape God have created in this age the existence of an irreversible death-march towards the destruction of that very creation over which man was meant to rule. Only by appreciating the unity of cosmology and soteriology, conceiving of the universe in terms of this type of dramatic imagery, may we hope to come close to recreating the apocalyptic world view of the apostle Paul. Against the backdrop of this radical-cosmic panorama we approach

¹Hans Conzelmann, "Die Ueberwindung der Weltangst durch den Glauben," Mensch und Kosmos (Zuerich: Zeingli Verlag, 1960), p. 60.

those texts in Paul which speak of Christ as the beginning of the new world.¹ It is difficult to overestimate the pivotal position occupied by creation theology in the apostle's argument about victory over this world of sin and death. In fact Lindeskog goes to the extent of stating that: "Man darf wohl behaupten, dass die neue Schoepfung der adaequate Ausdruck fuer die Christustat ueberhaupt ist; ohne Zweifel ist die neue Schoepfung die Kategorie, welche die Tat Christi am besten zum Ausdruck bringt."² Lindeskog continues to say that in three concepts, the last Adam, the image of God and the new man, Paul characterizes Christ in utter opposition to the past death-age of Adam.³

There are numerous possible sources which would explain the appearance of this emphasis upon creation theology in Paul. God's struggle with the dragon and chaos powers portrayed in the dramatic imagery of Babylonian creation mythology⁴ is a very present element of early Christian and Pauline eschatology. This imagery is carried over and applied to Christ the bearer of the new creation and victor over the cosmic powers of this age.⁵ Gunkel recalls how the paradise

¹Taylor omits this cosmic emphasis in his speaking of Christ as the bearer of the new creation. Louis H. Taylor, The New Creation (New York: Pageant Press, 1958), passim.

²Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 236.

³Ibid., pp. 220-235.

⁴For the argument establishing the influence of these Babylonian creation mythologies on Israelite theology cf., Gunkel, Schoepfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, pp. 121-170.

⁵In Jewish and early Christian theology, the serpent and Satan were thought of as being one and the same (Rev. xx. 2; II Cor. xi. 3). The power to "tread upon serpents...and over all the power of the enemy" Luke x. 19 [Mark xvi. 18 refers to the power to "pick up" serpents but power over the serpent is here also the meaning] may well be a reference to the defeat of the chaos powers epitomized as the serpent or dragon of the deep in these early creation mythologies. In Paul the idea of God who will soon "crush Satan under your feet" (Rom. xvi. 20) and the putting of enemies "under foot" (Phil. ii. 6ff.; I Cor. xv. 25, 27; Eph. i. 22; Heb. i. 13; ii. 8; x. 13; Mtt. xxii. 44; Mk. xii. 36; Luke xx. 43) may also reflect this same stream of tradition.

myth and the creation theology earlier in Israel had only a limited meaning but were revived prior to New Testament times:

So der Paradiesesmythus, der bis in die spaeteste Zeit wenig bedeutet, aber in der letzten Epoche des Judentums neu belebt wird. So auch die Schoepfungsgeschichte...der Schoepfungsmythus ist - wie es scheint - auch in einer eschatologischen Wendung nach Israel gekommen und hat den Frophetenschuelern ein Bild des kommenden Gerichtes geboten. Wir haben aus spaetester Zeit leise Spuren, dass er auch fuer den Inhalt der Endhoffnung wichtig zu werden anfieng. [sic]

In Jewish eschatology the end-time would be a time for the renewal of creation.² If we properly recognize the importance of Gunkel's study we must understand this eschatological type of thinking as no mere political hope but as envisaging a thoroughgoing cosmic and mythological drama of salvation. Fascher confirms that in Jewish cultic tradition there was evidence for a creation theology which was very close to the Pauline presentation: "Neben der prophetischen Dynamik, welche die Herrschaft Gottes immerwieder als zukuenftig ankuendigt, steht ja doch eine priesterlich-statische Auffassung, welche an Schoepfung und Gesetzgebund anknuepfend, den Gott der festen Ordnung predigt und seine Macht aus Beispielen der Geschichte erhaertet."³ Another source for this creation theology might well be the influence of the wisdom literature⁴ upon the apostle Paul's thinking. Jervell adds that speculation upon Gen. i. 26ff. and the anticipation of a new creation was widespread

¹ Ibid., p. 170.

² Cf., Gustav Hoelscher, Die Ursprung der juedischen Eschatologie (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Toepelmann, 1925), pp. 3ff.

³ Erich Fascher, "Gottes Koenigtum im Urchristentum," Numen, International Review for the History of Religions, IV (1957), p. 99.

⁴ Cf., Edvin Larsson, Christus als Vorbild, Eine Untersuchung zu den paulinischen Tauf- und Eikontexten (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup Lund, 1962), pp. 173ff.; Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit, pp. 205ff.

throughout the ancient world. Elements of creation theology are to be found in the thought patterns of late Judaism, Philo, rabbinic theology and Gnosticism.¹

Because the possibilities for sources of this creation theology are so wide and varied, comparative religions parallels must be considered as we come to each Pauline passage itself.

The Last Adam and the new creation.---Much in the Pauline use of Adam-typology suggests to us that the apostle would have his readers consider the role of Christ as that of the bringer of a new cosmic creation freeing mankind from this present death-age. It has been argued that the apostle Paul makes use of the Adam speculation for the expressed purpose of showing Christ to be the bringer of a new world.² It is logical, therefore, that we discuss the Pauline Adam-Christ typology keeping clearly in mind the probable presuppositions of creation theology.

Two passages come to mind immediately for our consideration: Rom. v. 12-21 and I Cor. xv. 21-22; 45-50.

It was generally agreed among the many Adam legends of Judaism that the first man by his sinful disobedience had lost his position of lordship over the world.³ Could it be true that in his referring to

¹Cf., especially Jervell's excellent discussion of the possible sources for the Pauline emphasis upon creation theology. Jacob Jervell, Imago Dei, Gen. 1, 26f. im Spaetjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1960), pp. 15-170.

²Cf., Christian Maurer, "Die Begrueundung der Herrschaft Christi ueber die Maechte nach Kolosser 1, 15-20," Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel, I (1955), pp. 89f.

³For the full argument leading to this assumption see the excellent discussion of the sources in Jervell, op. cit., pp. 38f.; 99f.; 101f. et passim.

Christ as the last Adam the apostle Paul is arguing that in Christ Adam's lost lordship is again restored?¹ We have already noticed with reference to Rom. v. 12-21 that Paul resists the temptation of making a rigid comparison between Adam and Christ. As we now consider I Cor. xv. 21f.; 45ff. it should be asked what role is played by creation theology and to what extent may it be said that Christ restores the lost lordship of Adam?

First of all it is necessary to establish some idea of the opponents in I Cor. xv. There are similarities between I Cor. xv. 45ff. and the two archetypal men known to us from the writings of Philo.²

¹Cf., II Cor. iii. 18; iv. 6.

²Lietzmann shows that in Philo the creation of the so called "first man" (Gen. i. 27) was the Platonic ideal man and the creation of the "second man" (Gen. ii. 7) was the historical Adam who brought sin and death into the world. Paul argues in just the reverse. The second man, or rather the last Adam, is the Messiah. Lietzmann, An die Korinther, I-II, p. 85. This would lead some to suppose that Paul was arguing against this speculation of Philo. Matthew Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," SJT, VII (1954), pp. 171f.; Kamlah, Die Form der katalogischen Paraenese im Neuen Testament, pp. 203f. It is more likely however, that the Corinthian opponents represent a type of Gnosticism which has this same view of the first "ideal man." Schniewind's analysis of Paul's opponents in I Cor. xv. may be summarized: The Gnostic-"Enthusiasmus" doctrine of an already accomplished resurrection (ἀνδραστὶν ἤδη γεγόνεσθαι II Tim. ii. 18) or already realized god-likeness and mystical πνευματικός nature is corrected by Paul. Death is not as the Gnostics would believe, "nur ein Schein" but the last and most dreaded enemy. The kingdom of God is not "already;" all things have their "order" τάγμα (I Cor. xv. 23ff.). Christ alone is the imago dei and our God-likeness is future (vs. 49) (φωρέσομεν). πνευματικός, ψυχικός, ὁφθαλμικός, and χοϊκός are Gnostic technical terms. Perhaps in direct contradiction of his opponents, Paul states ἀγνοῶμεν γὰρ θεοῦ τινες ἔχουσιν (vs. 34). "Realized eschatology" in this context is therefore un-Pauline and, in fact, part of the heresy. Bultmann's contention that Pauline anthropology "had already been formed under the influence of Gnosticism" (NTT, I, p. 174) may not be upheld if we keep in mind that Paul takes over this language only so that he might meet his opponents on their own ground. Cf., Julius Schniewind, "Die Leugner der Auferstehung in Korinth," Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze (Berlin: Alfred Toepelmann, 1952), pp. 110-139.

It is more probable that the apostle Paul has taken over the language of Gnostic opponents (ἐπουράνιος - χοϊκός; ἀθανασία/ἀφθαρσία - τὸ φθαρτόν; πνευματικός - ψυχικός) in his argument against them.¹

In the light of this Gnostic heresy which emphasized the ideal "Urmensch" it is possible only in a limited sense to speak of a Pauline doctrine of restitution of paradise. The apostle, probably because of these very opponents, was much more interested in showing the utter dissimilarity between Adam and Christ. The context of vss. 45-50 seems to fit our conclusion that the apostle Paul was facing this Gnostic type of thinking. The first Adam was a "living being" (vs. 45), "physical" (vs. 46), "from the earth" (vs. 47), "a man of dust" (vs. 47), while the last Adam is a "lifegiving spirit" (vs. 45), "spiritual" (vs. 46), "from heaven" (vss. 47, 48). Especially in vs. 46, ("But it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical"), the apostle Paul obviously contradicts speculation about the first ideal spiritual man.

In Christ there is to be seen a divine act and radical new creation. Commenting on vs. 45 where Christ is described as a πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν Lindeskog states: "Christus ist der Geist, der lebendig macht, d.h. er ist schoepfend...Was Christus mit Adam verbindet, ist ja eigentlich nur, dass jeder von ihnen je einem Geschlecht vorsteht. Sie sind auch beide von Gott unmittelbar geboren, ein Gesichtspunkt, der dem Paulus hier kaum praesent ist. Aber sonst ist der Unterschied unendlich gross. Adam gehoert zur Schoepfung, Christus aber ist selbst

¹Brandenburger also believes that Paul is correcting a Gnostic type of "Enthusiasmus" as is indicated in vss. 23ff. Cf., I Cor. iv. 8b "And would that you did reign, so that we might share the rule with you," which has this same anti-Gnostic/"Enthusiasmus" ring to it. Brandenburger, Adam und Christus, pp. 70-77.

schoepferisch."¹ As the last Adam, Christ is an eschatological figure who brings about a new creation through the power of the spirit.² However, in I Cor. xv. 45ff. one has no grounds to speak of a strict restitution of the lost creation; rather the difference between the first and second man are the more obviously emphasized by Paul:

Am Anfang der Zeiten, in der ersten Schoepfung, war Adam der Urmensch, I Kor. 15, 45ff., waehrend Christus der erste 'Mensch' in dem neuen Aeon ist. In Kol. 1, 15-20, wo wir deutlich die Tradition der hellenistischen Gemeinde vor uns haben, ist Christus der Erste sowohl in der ersten als in der zweiten Schoepfung. Somit ist die Gleichgestaltung mit Christus bei Paulus als etwas radikal Neues, nie Dagewesenes zu verstehen. Von einer restitution in integrum wie bei Kol. 1, 15-20 duerfen wir also hier nicht sprechen. Eine Korrespondenz zwischen Urzeit und Endzeit, etwa so, dass die Urzeit in der Endzeit wiederkehrt, findet sich in den aelteren Paulusbriefen nicht.³

In Pauline theology one cannot separate the resurrection hope (I Cor. xv. 42-44) from Christology (vss. 45-50). The defeat of death is presupposed in Pauline Christology (ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοτοῦν vs. 45). In such a christological understanding of creation, Christ is no mere restorer of a past golden age but the giver of life from the dead and bringer of the radical, eschatological and completely new creation of God.⁴ This concept of Christ as the last Adam must be clearly kept in mind for the balance of our discussion.

¹Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 225.

²Cf., our argument supra, Chapter VI, pp. 188f. where Christ and the spirit-power are identified with one another.

³Jervell, op. cit., p. 327.

⁴Cf., Eduard Lohse, "Imago Dei bei Paulus," Libertas Christiana, festgabe fuer Friedrich Delekat zum 65 Geburtstag (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957), pp. 130ff.

Christ, the imago dei.---In the undisputed epistles of Paul the imago dei concept occurs in Rom. i. 23; viii. 29; I Cor. xi. 7; xv. 49; II Cor. iii. 18; iv. 4 and Phil. ii. 6.¹ Although only these few passages seem to be involved, we should not be distracted into thinking that the imago dei concept is unimportant for Paul. Jervell reminds us that the Pauline letters most often deal with particular problems of the early church community and that: "Gerade da, wo das Material spaerlich fliesst und wo Paulus keine naecheren Definitionen und Erklaerungen gibt, liegt oft das Gewicht seines Kerygmas."² Within the ancient world there was widespread speculation upon Gen. i. 26f. so that one should be forewarned against supposing that the description of Christ as God's εἰκών should be determined by any set of pre-Pauline ideas.³ If any source must be singled out it is likely that the imago dei concept of the New Testament more nearly resembles the usage in Hellenistic Judaism and Philo. However, even in saying this, we must bear in mind that: "Wenn aber im N.T. behauptet wird, dass Christus der εἰκών Gottes ist, dann darf man vermuten, dass der alttestamentliche Gedanke seine Bedeutung zugunsten einer neuen Konzeption verloren hat."⁴

Recent scholarship has come to recognize the importance of the traditions surrounding the interpretation of Gen. i. 26f. for understanding

¹ Cf., also Col. i. 15; iii. 9f.; Eph. iv. 24.

² Jervell, op. cit., p. 171.

³ Such as Gnosticism alone, cf., Gerhard Koch, "Jesus Christus — Schoepfer der Welt," ZThK, LVI (1959), p. 85.

⁴ Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 226.

Rom. i. 18-32.¹ As we consider Rom. i. 23 it is important for us to realize that in late Judaism and in Gnostic tradition the image of God in man may also be expressed by the concept of δόξα .²

In Paul both δόξα and εἰκὼν are related to the risen and exalted Lord. When in Rom. i. 23 Paul states that καὶ

ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφθάρτου θεοῦ

ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου

it might be implied that man is no longer Lord over creation and the animal world.

Nun ist die Vorstellung von Doxa und Tiergleichheit folgendermassen mit Gen. 1, 26f. verkneepft: Der Mensch herrscht wegen seiner Gottgleichheit — das ist die Doxa — ueber die Tiere. Wenn nun der Mensch die Doxa oder Gottgleichheit verliert, bleiben die Tiere nicht mehr dem Menschen untertan; der Mensch wird jetzt den Tieren gleich und faengt an, die Tiere anzubeten. So versteht man die Geschichte vom goldenen Kalb bei Verknuepfung mit Gen. 1, 26f.³

Michel comments on Rom. iii. 23 that according to late Jewish theology Adam had lost God's δόξα and that atonement in Christ involves the return of this lost glory to man.⁴ In Jewish circles it was believed that the giving of the law at Sinai was this return of glory to Israel but in II Cor. iii. 4-18 we saw that the apostle Paul rejects this interpretation that the law is δόξα because the law cannot bring

¹ Cf., N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament at Romans i. 23," NTS, II (1956), pp. 285-288; M. D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans I," NTS, VI (1960), pp. 297-306; apud, Larsson, op. cit., p. 181.

² Jervell, op. cit., pp. 100ff.; 139ff.

³ Ibid., pp. 321f.

⁴ Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 105.

life and a new creation.¹ To be without the glory or image of God is none other than to be in a state of "futility"² along with the creation.³ We who bear the image of Adam (I Cor. xv. 49) are destined to death along with this world.⁴ In appealing to the Adam-Christ typology, therefore, the apostle Paul shows the situation of this present death-age and God's cosmic counter-action.

Die Gegenueberstellung Adam-Christus hat bei Paulus einen Doppelsinn. In ihr kreuzen sich die beiden dargestellten Gedankenreihen. Paulus stellt Adam nicht nur als den Urheber der Suende und des Todes in der Menschheit Christus gegenueber, sondern auch als den zuerst von Gott geschaffenen Menschen mit seinem schoepfungsmaessigen Sein... Adam und Christus, die Gegenueberstellung bezeichnet nicht nur menschliche Wirkung und goettliche Gegenwirkung, Aktion der Suende und Reaktion der Gnade; sondern auch zwei goettliche Schoepfungsakte.⁵

The hope for the return of paradise which in Jewish eschatology was supposed to restore the glory and image of God to man and establish the freedom from death and lordship over creation⁶ is not conspicuous

¹ Cf., Schlier, "DOXA bei Paulus als heilsgeschichtlicher Begriff," p. 50.

² Cf., Rom. viii. 15ff. Ibid., p. 49.

³ Jervell, op. cit., p. 233.

⁴ ὥστερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιήσονται I Cor. xv. 22; cf., Rom. v. 12, 18. Included in the hope for the return of paradise was also the hope for the defeat of death because "Zu Adams Gottebenbildlichkeit gehoerte auch, dass er unsterblich geschaffen wurde..." Ibid., p. 103.

⁵ Paul Althaus, Theologische Blatter, XX (1941), p. 88.

⁶ Cf., Heinrich Gross, Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Weltfriedens im alten Orient und im Alten Testament (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1956), pp. 66f.

in Pauline theology. Rather than a restitution of paradise, the apostle Paul proclaims the dawn of a completely new cosmic creation in Christ. In spite of the fact that the New Testament doctrine of the image of God is based upon the traditions surrounding the exegesis of Gen. i. 26f. Althaus believes that Paul speaks "...nicht von Gott als dem Schoepfer des ersten Menschen, sondern von Gott als dem Schoepfer des neuen Menschen."¹ In Christ God's spirit-power is again unleashed upon the world to bring about a new creation; the coming of the Son is not the mere return of paradise but a completely new beginning. In I Cor. xv. 45ff. there is no speaking of the superiority of the first creation. Jervell excellently summarizes difficulties with the idea of claiming that Paul held to a restitution of paradise doctrine:

Nun wissen wir aus dem Spaetjudentum und auch aus den paulinischen Briefen — siehe Roem. 1, 23; 3, 23; 8, 29f. — dass die Doxa die wiederhergestellte Herrlichkeit der Urzeit, der ersten Schoepfung Gottes ist. So zeigt sowohl die Gegenueberstellung von der mosaischen und christlichen Doxa als auch die Verknuepfung von Gottes Schoepfertaetigkeit mit der Verkuendigung des Paulus, dass die Absicht Gottes bei der ersten Schoepfung erst in der christlichen Gemeinde verwirklicht ist. Von einer Restitution darf man nur mit Vorbehalt sprechen, weil Christus in diesem Zusammenhang nur mit der Eschatologie und nicht mit der Protologie verbunden ist. Somit ist natuerlich auch die Erhabenheit der zweiten Schoepfung angegeben.²

In II Cor. iv. 4; Phil. ii. 6f.; Col. i. 15 and iii. 10 the imago dei concept is applied to Christ. In II Cor. iv. 4-6 the references to "light," "glory," and the εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ relate

¹ Althaus, Theologische Blatter, XX (1941), p. 82. Cf., Charles Boyer, "'KAINH KTISIS' (2 Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15)," Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus, I, p. 487.

² Jervell, op. cit., p. 292.

to Christ as well as also recalling the language of the original creation tradition.¹

Also the Pauline δόξα -usage, in common with late Jewish belief, proclaims the quality of the kingdom of God.² In I Cor. ii. 8; II Cor. iii. 18a; iv. 4-6; Phil. iv. 19 the δόξα of God is ascribed to Christ. The resurrection hope in Pauline theology is part of this glory and power (I Cor. xv. 43; Phil. iii. 21) which is made available to the believer through Christ. After discussing these passages in detail Kittel concludes that for Paul the δόξα of God is revealed to man in Christ and, after Old Testament tradition, this δόξα should be defined as a power-epiphany: "Die radikale Verinnerlichung der Machtidee in der paulinischen Rechtfertigungs-δóξα ist zugleich ihre Einsetzung in ihre absolute Funktion: die zweite Schoepfung der Welt Gottes, die seineendgueltige Herrschaft ueber seine Kreatur darstellt."³

In I Cor. ii. 8 Christ is called "the Lord of glory" which in

¹Black, SJT, VII (1954), p. 174; Hegermann, Die Vorstellung vom Schoepfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum, p. 112. Schlier compares Christ's incarnation into the world with the coming of light as was the case in the first creation. "DOXA bei Paulus als heilsgeschichtlicher Begriff," p. 51; cf., Schneider, DOXA, p. 95. In Phil. ii. 15 Christ's followers "shine as lights in the world."

²Cf., Rom. v. 2; viii. 17; ix. 4, 23; II Cor. iii. 18b., iv. 17; Phil. iii. 21.

³Kittel, Die Herrlichkeit Gottes, p. 221. For a complete discussion of the Pauline texts involved in reaching this conclusion see pp. 192-222. For δόξα as power cf. also supra Chapter VII, pp. 233f.

Jewish theology was a designation for God.¹ On this passage Kittel concludes: "Paulus rückt in dieser Wendung den Christus unmittelbar neben Gott und wahrt gerade dadurch in entscheidender Weise die absolute Einzigartigkeit und Alleinmächtigkeit Gottes, eben weil die $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$, die ihm eignet, die $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ ist."²

Something very similar may be said for the words referring to Christ in II Cor. iv. 4 - $\text{\textcircled{O}}\varsigma \epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$. The image of God in the new age is given only to Christ according to Paul.³ Lindeskog states: " $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ gehoert zu der hoechsten Klasse christologischer Bezeichnungen. Hier wird ein Maximum und kein Minimum ausgesagt."⁴ In this connection, however, Eltester warns us that Paul does not speculate over the cosmological role of the $\epsilon\iota\kappa\omega\upsilon \tau\omicron\upsilon \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ beyond the clear affirmation that Christ is the very presence and $\delta\delta\zeta\alpha$ of the all-powerful Creator.⁵ In showing that II Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15; and Heb. i. 3 reflect the "sophia" speculation of Hellenistic Judaism, Eltester has provided us

¹ Ethiopic Enoch xxii. 14; xxv. 3; xxv. 7; xxvii. 2; xxvii. 3; xxvii. 5. Apud, Ibid., p. 169f.; 199. Larsson, op. cit., p. 185. Michel says that Christ's incarnation means the appearance of Jahweh on earth. "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5-11," p. 94.

² Kittel, op. cit., p. 200.

³ Althaus, Theologische Blätter, XX (1941), p. 82. I Cor. xi. 7 is not a contradiction of this assertion. Paul is really concerned in vss. 3-16 with showing the order of creation in a typical Jewish way of thinking, viz. God — Jesus — man — woman. Cf., Jervell, op. cit., pp. 296ff.; Else Kaehler, Die Frau in den paulinischen Briefen (Zuerich: Gotthelf Verlag, 1960), pp. 49ff.

⁴ Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 227.

⁵ Friedrich Wilhelm Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fuer die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beiheft XXIII (1958), pp. 132f.

with some possible links to the Johannine prologue in which Christ is the revelation of God's light and glory.¹ "...dass Christus gerade dadurch, dass er Gottes εἰκών ist, eine Bruecke zwischen dem unsichtbaren Gott und seiner Schoepfung bildet..."² Victory over this world of sin and death is signalled by the Christ who brings to this sphere of existence the transcendent power and glory of God.³ Jervell remarks, therefore: "Durch εἰκών (und μορφή Phil. 2, 6) wird die einzigartige Stellung Christi als Schoepfungsmittler und Kosmokrator geschildert. Die Gottebenbildlichkeit ist ein Bekenntnis zu der Goettlichkeit Christi, zu seinem Einssein mit dem Vater. Durch die Eikon wird auch die kosmologische Rolle Christi dargestellt."⁴

The imago dei concept is important for our comprehending the cosmic significance of Pauline christology and must be kept in mind as we approach the question of the new life in the apostle's theology.

The creation of new men and new life.---We have already noticed that the concept "new" in Paul assumes a usage of dramatic, eschatological importance.⁵ A greater part of Chapter VI was dedicated to the argument

¹ Ibid., pp. 151f. Although, in Paul, Christ is not to be considered as the co-creator of the world as in the Johannine prologue, other elements may be compared. "We have beheld his glory" (John i. 14) may also be considered as a Pauline manner of affirming the meaning of the incarnation of Christ.

² Rengstorff, Die Auferstehung Jesu, p. 101.

³ Cf., Rom. i. 20; I Tim. i. 17; vi. 16. Mussner, Christus das All und die Kirche, p. 170.

⁴ Jervell, op. cit., p. 333.

⁵ Cf., supra, Chapter VII, pp. 231ff.

that πνεῦμα in the Pauline letters should be understood as an other-worldly power. It was decided in the history of scholarship chapter that the Jewish tradition in which Paul stands taught that death is the result of sin and life the end-product of holiness. Holiness and true life come to sinful man not from this world but from another sphere through the incarnation of Christ.¹ Christ's sinlessness and holiness may be assumed as part of the Pauline argument for victory over death; "Denn wenn es wirklich schon 'einen' Geistleib gibt, der aus einem fleischlichen Leib hervorgegangen ist, dann ist ja die Macht des Todes gebrochen."² The gospel broke upon the ancient world as "good news" precisely because it disproved "...the basic thesis of Greek philosophy, viz. the impossibility of divine intervention in the cosmos."³ The sending of God's Son marks the divine encounter with a world which bears "die Signatur des Todes an sich."⁴ In this section we shall notice an interrelationship between Christ as the bringer of the new cosmic creation and the possibility of new life and a new humanity

¹Cf., Conzelmann, "Die Ueberwindung der Weltangst durch den Glauben," p. 54.

²Cullmann, "Unsterblichkeit der Seele und Auferstehung der Toten," p. 144. [ET] Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead, p. 40.

³Stanley, Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, p. 109. It is therefore a misrepresentation of the cosmic importance of Christ's atonement action as well as of Pauline "parenesis" to emphasize that victory over sin and death involves an "ethical dying to sin...realized by moral effort." Denney, The Death of Christ, pp. 186f.

⁴Mussner, " ZGH Die Anschauung vom 'Leben' im vierten Evangelium, p. 118. Although Mussner's study is made with reference to the gospel of John, many of his insights are of importance for understanding the apocalyptic world view of the apostle Paul. Mussner, for instance, states that the mythical imagery of demonic powers underlines the situation of man's slavery to the present death-world. Such a view is not unlike that of the apostle.

for the believer.

In Paul "life" is a predicate of God's very presence and creative power in the world. Rengstorff notes, therefore, that Paul combines the traditions about the resurrection and those dealing with the new cosmic creation:

Es vermag die Dinge nur so zu sehen, dass mit Jesu Auferweckung der neue Aeon zum ersten Male mit allen seinen Kraeften noch im Bereiche des alten Aeons wirksam geworden ist und ihm den entscheidenden Stoss versetzt hat...Fuer ihn [Paul] steht Christus nun, nachdem er auferweckt worden ist, ausserhalb der Kategorien dieses Aeons...Der erste Schoepfungstag ist abgelaufen, und ein neuer Schoepfungstag hat mit der Auferstehung Jesu begonnen.¹

God "gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist." (Rom. iv. 17). This verse shows the combination of resurrection faith with creation theology² whereby life from the dead and new cosmic existence are by the power of the God of the first creation who brought life ex nihilo.³ Other passages suggest that the apostle

¹Rengstorff, op. cit., p. 92. Cf., Erik Sjoeborg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palaestinischen Judentum," Studia Theologica, IV (1951), p. 60.

²Cf., vs. 24; I Cor. i. 28ff.

³Michel states that the power possessed by the Creator was an idea deeply rooted in Jewish and Christian tradition as is attested by the established liturgical character of this passage. Cf., Apoc. Bar. xlviii. 8; II Macc. vii. 28; Philo spec. leg. iv. 187; b. Sanh. 91a.; Isa. xlviii. 13; apoc. Bar xxi. 4; apud, Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 124. In Rom. ix. 21 the ἐξουσία of the Creator over His creation recalls this same type of argument from Old Testament creation theology. Cf., Lu. xii. 5; Acts i. 7; Jude 25. Cf., the art. ἐξουσία TWNT, II, pp. 536f. Cf., also infra. pp. 315ff.

was appealing to this same type of argument from creation theology.¹ How then is this new cosmic creation achieved? To find the answer to this question we must go to the very center of Pauline Christology. The obtaining of life depends upon the righteousness of sinful man before a Holy God. Thus in Paul righteousness and life may be equated. But man cannot achieve righteousness. Christ brings both to man in himself.² The argument of a cross theology versus a resurrection theology is broken down with this understanding of Christology. In the created order righteousness is the only guarantee that man will not be subjected to the wrath of God. The righteousness from God through Christ assures victory at the cross, even in death. Resurrection and exaltation are both demanded by Christ's victorious righteousness. As was the case in Chapter VIII, Christ's sinless obedience and victory over the demonic power of sin are also important here for our understanding of the defeat of death.

I Cor. xv. 42ff deserves closer investigation in this regard. Here as in the parallel passages (Rom. v. 17, 18, 19, 21; I Cor. xv. 22) life characterizes the new age in Christ. The fact that Jesus is the "lifegiving spirit" and the man from heaven illustrates that for Paul victory over death includes far-reaching implications for Christology. Larsson remarks of this passage that: "Er [Paul] bezieht sich kaum — trotz dem Kontext — nur auf die Auferstehung, sondern auf die Tat

¹ Christ is identified with the spirit-power which brings new life cf., Rom. vii. 6; I Cor. xv. 45; II Cor. iii. 6, 8, 17-18.

² Rom. v. 17, 18, 21; viii. 10, 11; I Cor. i. 30. Because the law could not bring righteousness, it could not bring life. Gal. iii. 21; II Cor. iii. 4ff.

Christi in toto!"¹ By continued acts of sinning against God, for which each individual person remains responsible,² the apostle declares that humanity has come to bear the image of creation rather than that of the Creator.³ Man's only hope for restored lordship over a creation which threatens to enslave and destroy comes from completely outside this sphere. This "man from heaven" did not become merely Ἀδάμ, εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν I Cor. xv. 45.⁴ Christ's role as bearer of the new creation means the bringing to this world of an activating force and

¹Larsson, op. cit., p. 320.

²Cf., our exegesis of Rom. v. 12ff, supra, Chapter VIII, pp. 261ff.

³καὶ καθὼς ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἁοῦχοῦ, φορέσομεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου I Cor. xv. 49. Cf., also vs. 50. This would coincide with Jervell's results from the exegesis of Rom. i. 23-25 where man by his sinful seeking after the things of this world has become animal-like, a part of creation instead of lord over it. Supra, pp. 290ff. As over against a Gnostic type of opposition which would claim the "already-fulfilled" aspects of the victory through Christ, the apostle Paul in I Cor. xv. 49 clearly refers to the victory of the believer as being in the future. Althaus contends that: "Christus ist der erste Mensch der es [the image of God] traegt, weil er der erste ist, der den Geist hat." Althaus, Theologische Blätter, XX (1941), pp. 84. Rom. viii. 29f. does speak of being "predestined to be conformed to the image of his son" and being "glorified" (aorist- ἐδόξασεν). However, the statement in vs. 29 that Christ is the "firstborn among many brethren" and also the general context of viii. 18-30 places this passage within the area of future Christian hope. Michel quoting Kuehl states: "In dieser 'triumphierenden Antezipation' ist die dunkelheit des Leidens, der Vergaenglichkeit und der Schwaeche ueberwunden." Michel, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 212.

⁴That Paul is using creation theology as his starting point for argument is indicated by the unmistakable repetition of the LXX in I Cor. xv. 45, 47.

lifegiving power¹ of the spirit (πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν) comparable to the divine act of the first creation of the cosmos. The identification of the spirit-power with the person and deeds of Christ² underlines Christ's role as the bringer of the new creation: "Dieser Geist ist ein kosmische, soteriologische und eschatologische Groesse. Wenn er in einem schöpferischen Akt das Chaos zum Kosmos gemacht hat, dann wird eben er die gefallene Schöpfung am Ende der Tage wiederum und dann fuer immer zur gottgewollten Ordnung..."³

If Jervell⁴ and others are correct in selecting baptism as the "sitz im Leben" for the use of the imago dei concept in early Christianity, then baptism represents one's identification with Christ in an eschatological, cosmic event and a hope for a radical new creation. Throughout our investigation we have had occasion to refer to baptism as

¹In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, for example, Volz shows how the outpouring of the spirit and the return of paradise are combined as both being part of the same eschatological hope for the Messianic times. Cf., Volz, Der Geist Gottes (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1910), p. 90. Also the hope for "life" in late Judaism coincides with the hope for the return of paradise. Cf., Mussner, " ZOH Die Anschauung vom 'Leben' im vierten Evangelium, p. 32.

²II Cor. iii. 17-18; I Cor. xv. 42ff.

³Karl Ludwig Schmidt, EJ, XIII (1945), p. 194. When Christ is described as the "lifegiving spirit" (I Cor. xv. 45) who is sent to man and given the supreme title of Lord, a new creation is brought into existence which may be compared with God's invasion of light out of darkness in the beginning time. Cf., Porter, "The place of apocalyptic conceptions in the thought of Paul," p. 197. Rengstorff, op. cit., p. 93; Stanley, op. cit., p. 126; Lindeskog, op. cit., pp. 238f.; Schmaus, Von den letzten Dingen, pp. 207f., 341.

⁴Jervell, op. cit., pp. 197ff., 231ff., 286ff., 333f., et passim.

a radical turning point and decisive shift of lordships for those in Christ.¹

This same appeal to the power of the Creator and the use of creation theology is present in the Pauline "parenthesis" which has its "Sitz im Leben" in baptism:

Ihr [baptism "parenthesis"] Sinn ist nicht, den Gläubigen eine Heiligkeit anstreben zu lassen, es geht in ihr auch nicht um das Erwerben von Verdiensten. Ihr Gegenstand ist vielmehr das Leben aus dem in der Taufe gegebenen Heil, und zwar durch die damit vollzogene Einverleibung in die neue Schoepfung. Will man das theologisch richtig verstehen, so kommt alles auf die Nuancen an: Das neue Leben ist nicht etwa sakramental verstanden. Es ist vielmehr so, dass die neue Schoepfung eschatologisch in Kreuz und Auferstehung Jesu Christi vollzogen ist. Die Taufe bedeutet die Einverleibung des einzelnen Gläubigen in den Leib Christi, in die neue Schoepfung, indem sie mit dem Geist der eigentlichen Gabe der neuen Schoepfung, begabt.²

In these "parenthesis" traditions, the admonition to "turn away" from or "put off" the old world and "put on" the new life should be interpreted from the Pauline doctrine of the arrival of the new cosmic creation in Christ.

Kamlah connects this type of baptism "parenthesis" with the Adam-Christ typology: "Es ist also in jedem Falle die neue Schoepfung, die in der Sprache des Urmenschenmythos auch neuer Mensch genannt werden kann, und deren Gabe, die Unsterblichkeit."³ Although I Cor. xv. 42ff. refers to the resurrection, because of the liturgical style, it is possible that 42b-44a might be a baptismal hymn:

¹ Cf., Rudolf Schnackenburg, Das Heilsgeschehen bei der Taufe nach dem Apostel Paulus (Muenchen: Karl Zink Verlag, 1950), pp. 34f. 133f., 144 et passim.

² Kamlah, Die Form der katalogischen Paraenese im Neuen Testament, p. 36

³ Ibid., p. 36.

σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ
 σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ
 σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἐγείρεται ἐν δυνάμει
 σπείρεται σῶμα ψυχικόν
 ἐγείρεται σῶμα πνευματικόν¹

I Cor. xv. 53-54 also could recall the event of baptism as it proclaims the hope of resurrection:

δεῖ γὰρ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀφθαρσίαν
 καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσασθαι ἀθανασίαν
 ὅταν δὲ τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀφθαρσίαν¹
 καὶ τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν¹
 τότε . . .

Here Paul speaks eschatologically and it is most difficult to isolate present and future tense in his discussion of victory over death.

In II Cor. iv. 16-v 10 — A "parenthesis" tradition according to Kamlah —² and I Cor. xv. 53-54 the progression of thought is determined by the Adam-Christ parallel and the creation of the new humanity in Christ. Understood from the Adam-Christ typology, it is obvious that Χριστὸν ἐνδύσασθαι (Gal. iii. 27; Rom. xiii. 14) and τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐνδύσασθαι (Eph. iv. 22; 24; Col. iii. 9, 10)³ are synonymous expressions. These passages of Gal. Rom./Eph. Col. may also be compared because they belong to the same type of baptism

¹The above reconstruction of verses 53-54 is according to Norden, Agnostos Theos, p. 357.

²Kamlah, Die Form der katalogischen Paraenese im Neuen Testament, pp. 131, n. 2, 206ff.

³Cf., similar ideas in Paul in Rom. vi. 4, 6; vii. 6; II Cor. v. 17; Gal. vi. 15.

"parenthesis."¹ The giving to man of the imago dei, true righteousness and holiness² are all part of the new creation brought by Christ.³

In death the old humanity, those without Christ, casts off this body to be "unclothed" (II Cor. v. 4) and "naked" before the Lord (vs. 3). Through uniting with Christ in baptism the new humanity "puts on" Christ, light, life, righteousness and the power of the new relationship in him⁴ and receives the "Spirit as a guarantee" (vs. 5; Rom. viii. 23). The receiving of the spirit-power means a very present "hope" (Rom. viii. 23).

¹Cf., in particular Jervell, op. cit., pp. 283ff. It is argued that the "parenthesis" of Eph. iv. 22-24 might be a reference to the type of ideas we get in Rom. i. 18-32 where the old man after the fall is the subject of discussion.

²According to Thielicke, ζωή and δικαιοσύνη are brought to our sphere by Christ. Helmut Thielicke, Tod und Leben, (Genève: Editions Oikumene, no date given, c.a. 1939-45), p. 193.

³Cf., Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10, and in Paul, Rom. viii. 29. Lindeskog, op. cit., pp. 199, 280, 292; Grundmann, ZNW, XXII (1933), p. 63; Althaus, Theologische Blätter, XX (1941), p. 82; Eltester, Eikon im Neuen Testament, pp. 156ff.; Jervell, op. cit., pp. 240ff.; Grass, op. cit., p. 171.

⁴For some time scholarship has recognized that the admonitions to "cast off" and "put on" belong to the "parenthesis" traditions of baptism. Thus: "cast off" (ἀποτίθεσθαι) the works of darkness and "put on" (ἐνδύεσθαι) the armor of light" Rom. xiii. 12; "put on the Lord Jesus Christ" vs. 14; Gal. iii. 27; cf., Eph. iv. 22, 25; Col. iii. 8; I Pet. ii. 1; Heb. xii. 1; Ja. i. 21. But also, expressed in the future tense, to put on the immortal and imperishable nature (I Cor. xv. 53-54) or the "heavenly dwelling" (II Cor. iv. 16- v. 10) is the hope of those who have already "put on" Christ in baptism and have the "Spirit as a guarantee" II Cor. v. 5. Thus the believer is to "put on ...for a helmet the hope of salvation." (I Thess. v. 8. This passage is also a baptism "parenthesis" tradition.) Cf., Eph. iv. 24; vi. 11, 14; Col. iii. 10, 12.)

23-25)¹ and "victory" (I Cor. xv. 54b.; 57; II Cor. ii. 14; Rom. vii. 25; viii. 1ff., 37ff. Cf., II Thess. iii. 1). However, a resurrection from the dead for the Christian is expressed as an event of the future (Rom. vi. 5, 8; II Cor. iv. 14). In addition to the shift of lordship signified in baptism (Rom. vi. 12ff.) the believer, by a new obedience of faith, continues to remain in the creative power of the spirit that he may become restored once again to the image and glory of God.² "Erst der Empfang des Geistes, das Leben durch den Geist (Gal. 5, 25) macht den Menschen zum Bilde Gottes."³

¹Cf., "hope of sharing the glory of God" (Rom. v. 2); "hope...through the Holy Spirit" (Rom. v. 5); "rejoice in your hope" ("parenesis" Rom. xii. 12); "by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope" (Rom. xv. 13); "Since we have such a hope (i.e. a hope of a permanent $\delta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ in the spirit which gives life and righteousness vss. 4-11) we are very bold" (II Cor. iii. 12; Gal. v. 5); "put on ...for a helmet the hope of salvation." (baptism "parenesis" I Thess. v. 8). Kamlah explains the purpose of this baptism "parenesis": "Dort [in baptism] bekommt er [the one being baptised] auch die Gabe des neuen Lebens: den Geist. Dies neue Leben und mit ihm den Geist denkt Paulus nicht substantiell; man ist nur im Geist, indem man sich auf ihn gründet (Roem. 8, 5-11), oder — wie es Paulus auch sagen kann — indem man glaubt. So verstanden, wird der Glaube nun doch zur 'Bedingung' des neuen Lebens, zu Gerechtigkeit (vgl. z. B. Roem. 3, 22) und gleichzeitig zu dessen Inhalt. Und hier ist der Ansatzpunkt der Paraenese zu sehen. Es geht um eine Bewahrung und Bewahrung dieser Gabe." Kamlah, Die Form der katalogischen Paraenese im Neuen Testament, p. 37. Thus our hope is present and the gift of the spirit a "realized" phenomenon of the Christian life. Yet "parenesis" tradition reminds us that we must continue in this hope by the obedience of faith.

²Even the affirmation of God's gift of reconciliation in II Cor. v. 17, "the old has passed away, behold, the new has come," is also balanced by the "parenesis" admonition "be reconciled to God." (vs. 20).

³Althaus, Theologische Blätter, XX (1941), p. 84. Only Christ is the image of God. We have hope of the restored imago dei through him who is the spirit. Only by a radical new creation is holiness and the restoration of man's glory possible since all have sinned. Ibid., pp. 84f., 87.

We may conclude, therefore, that behind the Adam-Christ typology there lies a proclamation of a new life and new humanity now possible through the incarnation of God's son. Creation theology motifs are not on the fringe but at the very center of Pauline theology.

C. The Case for a "Cosmic Christology"

Preliminary objections to present day interpretations.---Although our entire study has been dedicated more or less to this question of the case for a cosmic christology, here in this chapter where we discuss the questions of creation theology it seems natural to offer some specific criticisms of studies which would argue for a cosmic christology in Paul. We will seek to discover whether one can use the term "cosmic christology" in reference to the apostle's theology. Considering again only the undisputed epistles of Paul, we shall point out in what respects it is legitimate to speak of a cosmic christology in the Christus Victor themes of the apostle's theology.

In Paul we may certainly say that there exists a unity between soteriology and cosmology.¹ However, for Paul christology remains at the center and ^{is also connected with} ~~determines~~ both soteriology and cosmology. Do the undisputed epistles of Paul though, allow us adequate evidence for a cosmic christology?

All too often the question of the authenticity of Colossians or Ephesians is assumed without discussion² or else this problem of

¹ Lohmeyer, Kyrios Christos, pp. 74f.

² As in Otto Dilschneider, Das Christliche Weltbild (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, Verlag, 1951), pp. 82ff.; idem, Christus Pantocrator (Berlin: Kaethe Vogt Verlag, 1962), passim.

authenticity is treated all too lightly.¹ Among other problems, Bornkamm explains that the undisputed epistles present a completely different eschatology² from Colossians.³ Even though in Paul there is a victorious "already" to the atonement-theology, this is always balanced by a futuristic eschatology and "parenesis" which never fails to find expression.⁴ In this interpretation the very doxological aspects which become fused into a cosmic christology doctrine are often in fact a part of the opponents' "Enthusiasmus" theology which Paul is attempting to counteract.⁵

Especially among many Roman Catholic theologians, Colossians and Ephesians are used to present the church as victor over the cosmos whereas in the undisputed epistles of Paul the Christus Victor theme is first and foremost a description of the role of Christ. In response to some of these interpretations, Dahl's statement is worthy of mention:

¹Wagenfuehrer for instance concludes that Colossians is "unbedingt paulinisch" while Ephesians is the "Arbeit eines Sekretaers im Auftrag des Paulus." Max-Adolf Wagenfuehrer, Die Bedeutung Christi fuer Welt und Kirche, Studien zum Kolosser- und Epheserbrief (Leipzig: Verlag Georg Wigand, 1941), p. 130. Many scholars would find this an inadequate explanation and a failure to confront the difficulties contained in Colossians and Ephesians.

²Rom. viii. 17ff.; xiii. 11ff.; I Cor. xiii; xv; II Cor. iv. 7ff.; v. 1ff.; Phil. iii. 10f.; 17f.; iv. 4f.; I Thess. iv. 1 - v. 1.

³Col. i. 3-8; 26f.

⁴Bornkamm, "Die Hoffnung im Kolosserbrief," Studien zum Neuen Testament und zur Patristik, Erich Klostermann zum 90 Geburtstag (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), pp. 57ff. Bornkamm says that the finality which is to be found implied in the word ἐλπίς in Col. i. 5 is not Pauline. Compare Gal. v. 5 in Paul. Ibid., p. 63.

⁵Cf., supra, p. 287, n. 2.

"Eine grosse Rolle spielt der Gedanke von der 'triumphierenden Kirche' bei Paulus jedenfalls nicht, seine eschatologischen Hoffnungen gehen ueber das Kirchliche hinaus. Christus ist der Herr der Kirche und der Herr der Welt, er ist das eine, indem er das andere ist."¹

Other scholars, by making Colossians and Ephesians the basis of their argument without considering the serious objections to their authenticity are led to propose that the apostle Paul stood for a doctrine of victorious "already" universal salvation.² Earlier in our study, however, we noted that when Paul is combatting a Gnostic type of heresy he corrects the enthusiastic "already" with a "not-yet" or futuristic eschatology.³ Also the Pauline "parenthesis" tradition defies an absolute "already" to Christ's victory over the powers of darkness. Further objections will need to be made throughout this section. With this brief introduction into the problem, it should be obvious that our question requires careful analysis and an attempt to identify and discuss the various traditions within the Pauline material.

¹Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, p. 252.

²Wilhelm Michaelis, Versöhnung des Alls (Bern: Verlag Siloah, 1950), pp. 35, et passim. In the main, Michaelis makes use of Col. i. 20 and Eph. i. 10 in his attempt to prove that all creation must "return" to the Creator. Cf., also Markus Barth, The Broken Wall (Philadelphia: The Judson Press, 1959), pp. 252ff.; L. J. Baggott, A New Approach to Colossians (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1961), pp. 48ff. Elements of this doctrine are present in the undisputed epistles of Paul. However, our contention is that it is most essential that one makes distinctions between these various traditions which speak of salvation in universal terms. Cf., our treatment of the τὰ πάντα phrases infra. pp. 316ff.

³Cf., supra, Chapter VII, pp. 226ff. where we refer to Kaesemann who offers an intelligible solution to the problem of the "already" and the "not-yet" in Pauline eschatology. Barrett makes it clear that only the "possibility" for the salvation of all is the Pauline doctrine. From First Adam to Last, pp. 113ff., 117.

The question of sources for a cosmic christology.---The question of origins for the cosmic christology concept is still very much a debated question in modern scholarship.

In Judaism a world rulership was part of the Messianic hope. In the Old Testament the ideal king was seen as a "world ruler"; "In diesem Prozess verliert der geschichtliche Koenig seine Bedeutung; die Hoffnung auf die oft ins Ideeale erhoehte Weltherrschaft, die man an seine Person knuepfte, wird auf den Messias uebertragen."¹ The end-time Messiah was also expected to usher in a new cosmic age of holiness.²

From our discussion of Phil. ii. 5-11 in Chapter VIII it was learned that a considerable number of exegetes see the influence of the apocalyptic son of man doctrine³ and enthronization mythology⁴ upon Paul's doctrine of Christ's lordship over the world.

Some earlier works also found parallels to a "cosmic christology"

¹Heinrich Gross, Weltherrschaft als religioese Idee im Alten Testament (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlag, 1953), p. 150. Gross also states that the hope for world rulership is conveyed in Jewish theology as a reaffirmation of God's rights over creation, Ibid., p. 125 and also in terms of a David Redivivus expectation. Ibid., p. 65.

²Cf., Karl Geschwind, Die Niederfahrt Christi in die Unterwelt p. 180. "Der Messias erscheint in diesem Fall [viz. as the bringer of holiness] erst nachtraeglich auf dem Plan als Herrscher des von Jahwe gegruendeten Reiches." Ibid., p. 179.

³Cf., Chapter VIII, supra, p. 270, n. 1.

⁴Cf., Chapter VIII p. 270, n. 2. Cf. also Traugott Holtz who puts forward this same suggestion with reference to Christ's lordship over the cosmos in Revelation and also makes comparisons with Paul. Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962), pp. 27ff. et passim.

in the Hellenistic circles of Gnosticism,¹ and Stoicism.² Any one of these areas of thought might have exercised some influence upon a doctrine of cosmic christology.

Again there seems to be no workable alternative to dealing with the monumental question of comparative-religions parallels upon the basis of each individual Pauline passage. However, it should be remembered also that as we enter upon this study the responsibilities of correct exegesis must go beyond the seeking out of possible companion concepts to a "cosmic christology" doctrine.

Monotheistic motifs and "cosmic christology."---In facing the gentile world, early Christian mission propaganda appealed to its inherited doctrine of Jewish monotheism.³ In Paul also monotheism

¹Cf., among others Heinrich Schlier, Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Toepelmann, 1929), pp. 32, 58, et passim. Bultmann, "Reich Gottes und Menschensohn," Theologische Rundschau, IX (1937), pp. 32f. et passim.; however, earlier, we argued that recent scholarship has given good reason to reject the assumption that this Gnostic phenomenon could survive until New Testament times without being assimilated into and colored by the world view of late apocalyptic and Hellenistic Judaism. Cf., our discussion supra., Chapter II, pp. 68ff.

²Norden, op. cit., pp. 164f., 240.

³"...ein zentrales Stueck der hellenistlichen Missionspredigt und Tauflehre ist der juedische Monotheismus gewesen, und an diesem Punkt wurde von den neugewonnenen Heidenchristen der radikalste Bruch mit ihrer Vergangenheit gefordert." Hegemann, Die Vorstellung vom Schoepfungsmittler im hellenistischen Judentum und Urchristentum, p. 134. E. Peterson, EIE OEOE, 1926, cited by Kramer, Christos Kyrios Gottessohn, p. 92.; Bornkamm, "Glaube und Vernunft bei Paulus," Studien zu Antike und Urchristentum, pp. 122f.; W. Nauck, "Die Tradition und Komposition der Areopagrede," ZThK, LIII (1956), pp. 11ff. Typical of this missionary propaganda tradition is I Thess. i. 9-10 where the one "living" and "true" God brings life from the dead in the resurrection of Jesus. Cf., Ulrich Wilckens, Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte, Form- und Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von G. Bornkamm und G. von Rad, 5 (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1961), pp. 80ff., 98.

seems to be a basic doctrine of the mission kerygma to the gentiles. For Pauline theology there is but one God,¹ Who is the source and Creator of all things² and transcendent above all things.³ Therefore, to God alone belong the "power"⁴ and "rights" over all creation.⁵ The victory of the believer has its foundation in the doctrine of the one God who is the Creator, supreme power, origin, Lord and rightful claimant of all things. It is against this background of Jewish monotheism that the Pauline victory themes make sense. Because "the same Lord is Lord of all," (Rom. x. 12) we need fear "nothing in all creation," (Rom. viii. 39). "If God is for us, who is against us?" (Rom. viii. 31). The possibility of victory over death and this world becomes an actuality because the one God gives to man His life-creating power through Jesus. "God who raises the dead" (II Cor. i. 9) is He Who "raised the Lord and will also raise us by his power." (I Cor. vi. 14). Thus "whether we live or die we are the Lord's," (Rom. xiv. 7-9) and "all things are yours...life or death or the present or the future, all are yours and you are Christ's and Christ is God's."

¹ Rom. iii. 30; I Cor. viii. 6; Gal. iii. 20. These passages probably recall the Jewish "Shema" Deut. vi. 4f. Cf., I Thess. i. 9; J. Munck, "I Thess. i. 9-10 and the Missionary Preaching of Paul," NTS, IX (1963), pp. 102ff.

² Rom. i. 25; iv. 17; ix. 20; xi. 36; I Cor. i. 28 (creatio ex nihilo motif); viii. 6; xi. 12; II Cor. iv. 6; v. 18.

³ Rom. iv. 5; xiii. 1f. I Cor. x. 19f.; x. 26.

⁴ Rom. iv. 21, 17; I Cor. ii. 5; II Cor. vi. 7; xii. 9.

⁵ Rom. ix. 21; xi. 23. Cf., I Cor. ix. 4, 6, 12a., 12b. which shows to have power and to have rights is the same thing. In vs. 18 Paul's "rights" are the translation of ἐξουσία. In vs. 15 "these rights" is the RSV translation from the Greek τούτων.

(I Cor. iii. 21-23)¹ God's victory over death in Jesus (I Cor. xv. 21-22; Rom. v. 12ff.) is the beginning of the end-time at the conclusion of which "death" (I Cor. xv. 26) and "all things" of creation (vs. 27) will be finally subdued that "God may be everything to everyone." (vs. 28)²

In this section of our study we concentrate upon some passages where the life-giving power of the one God is shown to be transferred to Christ.

Norden illustrates for us the strict hymn-like parallelism in one of the passages we must consider in this connection, I Cor. viii. 6:

ἡμῖν εἰς θεὸς ὁ πατήρ,
 ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν
 καὶ εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός
 δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ³

As the εἰς θεὸς motif was employed in early Christian mission propaganda so Paul by an addition of Stoic terminology⁴ which would be

¹Cf., II Cor. vi. 10 "as having nothing and yet possessing everything."

²Althaus concludes that victory over all the powers of this world, including death, is founded in the same hope of God who is our Creator: "Das Sterben ist, von uns aus gesehen, Sinken ins Bodenlose, Ausgang in das Nichts. Im Tode verlieren wir uns selbst. Wir koennen uns nicht mehr halten. Der Glaube weiss, dass Gott uns auch dann haelt und nicht in das Nichts fallen laesst..... Er [God] laesst uns sterben! Er ist unser Schoepfer und Herr." Althaus, Der Christenglaube und das Sterben, p. 17f. In Rev. xi. 15 this victory is transferred to Christ.

³Norden believes that this "Allmachtsformel" is closely parallel to that which is found in Stoic hymns. Norden, op. cit., pp. 240ff.; Hildebrecht Hommel, "Pantokrator" Theologia Viatorum, Jahrbuch der kirchlichen Hochschule Berlin, I (1953), pp. 322, 344f.

⁴Norden, op. cit., pp. 12ff.

known to gentile hearers makes parallel the εἰς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. This verse could illustrate for us a conscious attempt on the part of the apostle Paul to adapt the early Christian mission kerygma to fit the Hellenistic situation.¹ In the oneness of God and the Lord Jesus Christ is victory; "Darum kann der Glaube nur sagen: Jesus ist der 'eine' Herr; darum sind alle anderen Herren tot."² Warnach, in similar words, states that because Paul argues that there is but one God, therefore: "Fuer den Glaubenden und Betenden ist der Kosmos tatsaechlich schon entgotzt und entdaemonisiert..."³ There is one God "from whom"

¹Cf., the same parallelism εἰς θεός — εἰς κύριος in Eph. iv. 5; Heb. ii. 10. For the κύριος confession as part of Pauline mission kerygma cf., Bornkamm, "Christus und die Welt in der urchristlichen Botschaft," ZThK, XLVII (1950), pp. 212ff.; Kramer, Christos, Kyrios, Gottessohn, pp. 91ff. According to Hahn the affirmation that Christ is κύριος over the world and the emphasis upon the world-wide significance of Christ's atonement action is characteristic of Pauline mission kerygma. This tradition of the motif of the one God and one Lord Jesus Christ who rules over all probably stems from pre-Pauline times. It is associated with the apostle's attempt to refer the "one God" affirmation of Jewish mission propaganda to the "one Lord" Jesus Christ in order to adapt the mission kerygma to the gentile world. Cf., Ferdinand Hahn, Das Verstaendnis der Mission im Neuen Testament, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 13, herausgegeben von G. Bornkamm und G. von Rad (Niederlande: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963), pp. 80, 84ff., 52, 65. To the Greek mind "fate" was a part of nature. God's victory through Christ had to be a conquest of flesh, law, sin and death but also of all creation. Paul seems to combine Jewish theology of the oneness of God the Creator with the εἰς κύριος who is the mediator of this new creation. κύριος in the mystery religions meant a personal lord and not an abstract power. Paul does not here deny the existence of demonic powers but calls the believer to the One God. By confessing the "oneness" of God and the Lord Jesus Christ man declares what determines his life and thus God's life-creating power may become victorious in the believer. Cf., Schweizer, "Jesus Christus Herr ueber Kirche und Welt," Libertas Christiana, pp. 180f.

²Ibid., p. 183.

³Viktor Warnach, "Kirche und Kosmos," Enkainia, Gesammelte Arbeiten zum 800 jaehrigen Weihegedaechnis der Abteikirche Maria Laach (Dusseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1956), p. 197.

(ἐξ οὗ) are all things and for whom (εἰς αὐτόν) we exist."¹ The mediator of the new creation is the "one Lord Jesus Christ through whom (δι' οὗ) are all things and through whom (δι' αὐτοῦ) we exist." (I Cor. viii. 6) The order of creation, God — The Lord Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new creation — and the believer united to God through Christ, is the same as is found (though in reversed order) at I Cor. iii. 21-23: "For all things are yours...and you are Christ's and Christ is God's." For Paul Christ is not elevated to the position of co-creator of the world to whom, for this reason alone, all things of creation must inevitably return.² The λόγος is co-creator of the world in Hellenistic Judaism and in the prologue to John's gospel. In the hymn of Col. i. 15-20 Christ

¹ Cf., Rom. xi. 36 which refers to God as ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτόν τὰ πάντα. I Cor. xi. 12 τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

² Schnackenburg, commenting on Col. i. 15f., terms the exaltation of the Son an inevitable "Heimholung" because Christ was co-creator of the world and thus the head of creation from the beginning. Rudolf Schnackenburg, Gottes Herrschaft und Reich (Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1959), p. 218. Earlier we attempted to show that exaltation of Christ is connected with his obedience. Of course ideas of "universal homecoming" are to be found in Paul, as Stauffer has already illustrated cf., Stauffer, NTT, pp. 222ff., but in Colossians the doctrine of God's creation and salvation of the world is converted into unique christological form. Thus we find Wagenfuehrer going to the extent of concluding that the universe as depicted in Colossians is a "christonome Groesse" and this constitutes "das Wesen und die Bedeutung der paulinischen Kosmologie." Max-Adolf Wagenfuehrer, Die Bedeutung Christi fuer Welt und Kirche, p. 82.

is presented as the co-creator of the world.¹ It is more true to Pauline theology if we suppose that God's victory through Christ, the mediator of the new creation, is made possible because, unlike Adam in the first creation, Christ was completely obedient,² and thus was exalted over all things (Phil. ii. 5-11): "Jesus fordert die Wiederherstellung des Gehorsams gegen den reinen Schoepferwillen Gottes. Mit seinem Kommen aber ist die Stunde gekommen, in der die vollkommende heilige Schoepfungsordnung Gottes wieder in Kraft tritt."³ God the

¹ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα. (Col. i. 16). Kaesemann remarks that the Colossian hymn speaks of the "Allmachtsformel" only in connection with the son and that this enthusiastic-doxological emphasis indicates later mission kerygma and the assimilation of elements from Gnostic "Urmensch" mythology. Cf., Ernst Kaesemann, "Eine urchristliche Tauf liturgie," EVuB, pp. 39ff. Since we are considering only the undisputed epistles of Paul, the debate over the authenticity of Colossians lies outside the purpose of this study. We must remark, however, that in the undisputed epistles of Paul, Christ is lord over "all things" not because he is co-creator of the world but because of his obedience and "Schoepfungsmittlerschaft" role. We may suggest then that the δι' αὐτοῦ of Col. i. 20 more closely approximates the Pauline idea of Christ mediating to us God's new creation (τὰ πάντα).

² Michaelis rejects what he regards as Werner's subjective interpretation that "sowohl in der Synopse wie bei Paulus in mehreren Einzelheiten die Auffassung des Messias als eines hoehern Engelwesens sich deutlich bekundet." Werner apud, Wilhelm Michaelis, Zur Engelchristologie im Urchristentum (Basel: Verlag von Heinrich Mayer, 1942), p. 34. The whole point of the argument put forth by Michaelis is that Paul stresses the obedience to death and the earthly reality of Christ's incarnation and atonement action. For Paul the doctrine of Christus Victor is no guaranteed fait accompli of Christ's pre-existence state. It is only at the completion of Christ's earthly mission that he is designated κύριος of the world. Ibid., pp. 35ff., 58, 61. Cf., Bornkamm, ZThK, XLVII (1950), pp. 221f.

³ Joachim Jeremias, Jesus als Weltvollender (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1930), p. 68. Cf., supra, Chapter VIII, pp. 265ff.

Creator transfers to Christ His very own life-giving power.¹

Other passages in Paul confirm the interpretation of I Cor. viii. 6 outlined above. In Rom xiv. 7-8 we have before us a liturgical style² which reflects the monotheistic motif of early Christian missionary kerygma:

οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτῷ ζῇ
καὶ

οὐδεὶς ἑαυτῷ ἀποθνῄσκει

ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν,
ἐάν τε ἀποθνῄσκαμεν, τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνῄσκομεν
ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν ἐάν τε ἀποθνῄσκαμεν
τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν

With the phrase εἰς τοῦτο of vs. 9 Paul makes the transition from the traditional material³ to "sum up" that as a result of the resurrection Christ is given the same role as that of the "Lord both of the dead and of the living." (vs. 9)

In this context, the "Lord" mentioned in the monotheistic motif of Rom. x. 12, "the same Lord is Lord of all," and the Old Testament quotation "everyone who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved"

¹Cf., Grundmann, Der Begriff Kraft im Neuen Testament, pp. 75ff.

²Michel says that this passage may be a baptismal confession. Cf., II Tim. ii. 11-13, Der Brief an die Roemer, p. 340.

³It seems to me that other passages confirm this assumption. In II Cor. v. 5 the phrase εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο concludes the traditional "parenthesis" material of II Cor. iv. 16-v.5. διὰ τοῦτο in I Cor. xi. 10 makes the transition from traditional rabbinic materials to lead into his own discussion. Cf., εἰς αὐτὸ of Eph. vi. 18 which also concludes the "parenthesis" tradition of Eph. vi. 10ff.

(vs. 13) both may refer to Christ who is the same "Lord." (vs. 9)¹

This same concept of the transference of God's power to Christ may be seen also in such passages as II Cor. iv. 4-6 where the "light" and "glory" of the Creator are seen "in the face of Christ" who is the imago dei (II Cor. iii. 18; iv. 4). In II Cor. xiii. 4 the power of God is transferred to Christ because of his submission to the cross.²

It seems then that Paul understood Christ to be the mediator of a new creation, Christus Victor in the sense of being God's own kosmokrator designatus^{2a} until the parousia. Thus also some help is given toward finding a source for this cosmic emphasis in Pauline christology. The dominance of creation theology and the monotheistic motifs lead Hegermann to the conclusion: "Der Frage nach dem Ursprung der kosmischen Christologie fuhrt uns dagegen einerseits aber an zentraler Stelle auf das palaestinisch-urspruengliche Kerygma."³

Christ's Lordship over "All Things".---The τὰ πάντα statements of Paul are closely connected with a "Schoepfungsmittler-christologie." In Phil. ii. 9-11 the exaltation of Christ as Lord

¹"Calling upon the name of the Lord" (vs. 13), a quotation of Joel ii. 32, and the baptismal confession "Jesus is Lord" (vs. 9) are combined in Paul not without purpose. Already, Dodd, among others, has pointed out how the concept of κύριος would have been understood as the supreme object of worship in both Hellenistic Judaism and in the gentile world. Cf., Dodd, The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, pp. 166ff. It seems logical to suggest that in the mission to the gentiles the apostle was forced all the more to identify the all powerful One Lord God of Creation with the one Lord Jesus Christ who mediates the lifegiving power to man. 2a. For this term cf., Kaesemann

²Cf., II Cor. ii. 14. and others.

³Hegermann, op. cit., p. 130.

depicts a victory over all creation.¹ A comparison of other τὰ πάντα phrases leads to the conclusion that creation theology and monotheistic motifs were used in early Christian mission kerygma and comprise a most important portion of the Pauline Christus Victor themes. The transfer of God's creative power to Christ, the mediator of the new creation, was pointed out above² with reference to I Cor. viii. 6; Rom. xi. 36; xiv. 7-9; x. 9-13 and II Cor. iii. 21-23 where Christ is depicted as Lord over all things. Here there is provided a link with the Philippians ii hymn.

Christ's Lordship over all things as mediator of the creation power of God is reflected in Rom. viii. 31-34; 37-39; I Cor. xii. 2-6; xv. 20-28; II Cor. v. 16-18a.; xiii. 4; and Phil. iii. 21.³ A close investigation of some of these passages will reveal the intimate relationship of creation theology with the doctrine of the Lordship of Christ.

As a title of acclamation and confession KYPIΟΣ IΘΕΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ is found in Phil. ii. 11; Rom. x. 9; and I Cor. xii. 3.⁴ Already we have established that in Rom. x. 9ff. to "call upon the name of the Lord," (vs. 13) an Old Testament quotation and obvious reference to God, and to "confess with your lips that Jesus

¹ (ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων)

² Supra., pp. 311ff.

³ God's right of rulership over all things is also expressed in language similar to the doxology of Phil. ii. 9-11. Cf., Rom. ix. 17; x. 18; I Cor. x. 26. The victory of those "in Christ" parallels the lowliness-exaltation pattern of Phil. ii. 5-11 in Rom. v. 18; II Cor. vi. 8-10; Phil. iv. 13.

⁴ With the shortened form KYPIΟΣ IΘΕΟΥ in Rom. x. 9 and I Cor. xii. 3.

is Lord" (vs. 9) in the Hellenistic worshipping community was considered to be the "same Lord who is Lord of all." (vs. 12)¹

Underlying I Cor. xii. 1-8 is the "one-God" motif of early Christian mission kerygma.² The victorious aspects of Phil. iii. 10-12, a modification of Phil. ii. 9-11, are based upon the power of the one God over all creation as in I Cor. viii. 6; Rom. xi. 36. Again, however, we see the transfer of this power to the one κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν . . . κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ δύνασθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποτάξαι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα . Christ's victory over all things assures the believer, even in martyrdom, of victory over death.³ These verses all provide a background for interpreting I Cor. xv. 20-28 where victory over death and over "all things" are part of the same eschatological hope. In addition to the

¹Cf., Kramer, op. cit., pp. 61ff. who gives the "Sitz im Leben" of these three mentioned passages as belonging to the general confession of worship of the Hellenistic-Christian community.

²Cullmann suggests that the declaration "Jesus be cursed" I Cor. xii. 3 shows the "...primary theme of the verse is not 'glossolalia' but emperor worship and persecution because of the confession KYPIΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ . The Christology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1959), pp. 219ff. Whether or not this interpretation is true, it does not alter the fact that the references to worship of idols (vs. 2), Jesus as Lord (vs. 3), the "same Spirit," (vs. 4), "same Lord" (vs. 5) and "same God" ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν ᾗσιν (vs. 6) again reflect the monotheistic motif of mission kerygma and the focus of all power upon the one God and upon the one Lord Jesus Christ.

³Cf., Lohmeyer, Der Brief an die Philipper, pp. 156ff.; Dibelius, An die Thessalonicher I-II an die Philipper (2 Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1925), pp. 71f. The "one Lord" affirmation in the place of the "Kaiserkult" confession fastens the hope of the martyr over death in the rulership of the κύριος over "all things!" We should point out however that the old thesis that the κύριος confession grew out of the "Kontraststimmung" with the "Kaiserkult" is not to be upheld for the κύριος confession is a part of early Hellenistic-Christian kerygma before there is evidence of persecution. Cf., Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 122.

mention of Adam (vs. 22) creation theology and monotheistic motifs pervade the entire context of I Cor. xv. 20-28. We may agree with Mussner that the " τὰ πάντα -Formel wird im NT (teilweise doxologisch) verwendet zum Preise der Allmacht des Schoepfers und Erloesers..."¹ The apocalyptic language of I Cor. xv. 20-28 reminds Lindeskog of early creation mythology: "Dieses Kampfmotiv, welches in der Offenbarung des Johannes dominiert, wuerde uns nach den neuesten Auslegungen des Schoepfungsmythus auf eine aeltere Sicht als die in Gen. 1-2 repraesentierte zurueckfuehren, wo Jahwe mit dem Chaosmaechten seinen gewaltigen Kampf fuehrt."² Phrases from Ps. cx. 1 and viii. 7 are a part of the established kerygma of the early church and demonstrate further the transfer of God's power to the *χρίστος* Jesus Christ.

Im hellenistischen Heidenchristentum gewann der Kyriostitel dann die fortan beherrschende Auspraegung, die eine Aussage ueber das goettliche Wesen und die goettliche Wuerde des Erhoehten impliziert, was schliesslich auch im Hinblick auf den Auferstandenen und den Irdischen entfaltet wurde...doch hat die Christenheit daran festgehalten, dass Jesus nicht einer unter den vielen Kultgoettern, sondern der eine Herr ueber alle Welt ist, ein Bekenntnis, das die Gemeinde auch gegenueber dem Kaiserkult zu bewaehren hatte.³

Even in I Cor. xv. 24ff., however, where a christological interpretation of Ps. cx. 1 is advanced, Paul provides a correction to what is probably

¹ Mussner, Christus das All und die Kirche, p. 29.

² Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 230.

³ Hahn, Christologische Hoheitstitel, p. 125. Cf., the excursus on Ps. cx. pp. 126-132. Both Hahn and Mussner believe that a christological interpretation of Ps. viii. 7 was pre-Pauline, reflected in the traditions of Hellenistic-Jewish Christendom. Cf., Mussner, Christus das All und die Kirche, pp. 29f. Ps. viii is important for our argument that Christ brought about the return of Lordship over creation. Cf., Heb. ii. 6-8; Eph. i. 22; Phil. iii. 21. Reflections of a christological understanding of Ps. viii. 7 may be indicated in Rom. xvi. 20 where Satan will be crushed "under your feet."

a Hellenistic-Gnostic "Enthusiasmus" christology by maintaining that it is God alone who in the end will be "all in all" and Christ will be subjected to Him.¹ As was the case with I Cor. viii. 6 so here in I Cor. xv. 24ff. we must be careful, despite the doxological character of this christology, to recognize that "Die komische Stellung Christi hat in der Allmacht Gottes ihre Wurzel."² The principalities and powers are a dramatic expression of the power of death, "the last enemy." (vs. 26)³ The victory over death is based upon the power of the one God over all creation⁴ and the transfer of this power to Christ who is lord over all things until the parousia.⁵

¹Reflections of Ps. cx. 1 are only found in Paul in Rom. i. 4; viii. 34 and possibly Phil. ii. 11 and iii. 21. In these cases the occurrences sound liturgical and are probably taken over from pre-Pauline tradition. Here in I Cor. xv. 24ff. Paul resists the doxological "already-fulfilled" aspect of the opponents' christology. Contrast Eph. i. 20f.

²Wagenfuehrer, op. cit., p. 54

³Schnackenburg, Gottes Herrschaft und Reich, p. 206.

⁴Christ submits himself to this creation, coming to us in the flesh. This is an entrance into the arena where death powers have control. In Phil. ii. 5-8 Christ enters the realm of death and is proclaimed victor over creation ("on earth" vs. 10), the death world ("under the earth" vs. 10), and cosmic powers ("in heaven" vs. 10). Cf., Geschwind, Die Niederfahrt Christi in die Unterwelt, pp. 235f.

⁵Bultmann, "Der Glaube an Gott den Schoepfer," pp. 180f., 186f. The transference of God's power to Christ is indicated by the fact that both Rom. xiv. 11 and Phil. ii. 11 quote the LXX of Isa. xlv. 23 (πάν γόνυ κάμψη . . . καὶ πάντα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται). This ascription of praise is applied interchangeably to God (Rom. xiv. 11) and to the Lord Jesus Christ (Phil. ii. 11).

After considering some of these parallel ideas to Phil. ii. 9-11 in Paul we may understand how Lindeskog can state: "Der urchristliche Hymnus (Phil. ii. 8-11) fasst in unvergleichlicher Weise den Inhalt des neutestamentlichen Schoepfungsgedankens zusammen."¹ What might be termed a cosmic christology in Paul is based upon the giving to Christ of the "name" (=power) of $\chi\rho\iota\varsigma$: "...an die Stelle des alttestamentlichen 'Jahwe' tritt Phil. 2, 10 der Ausdruck 'im Namen Jesu.' Gottes Koenigsherrschaft, so wie das AT sie versteht, beruht auf der Schoepfung. Als der, der alles geschaffen hat, ist Gott der Herr aller."² God gives to the exalted Christ His own power, His name and His rights over all creation until the parousia when God Himself will be all in all.

Summary and conclusion.---How, then, does Paul acknowledge Christ's victory over death? For the answer we must look beyond the doctrine of the resurrection. In fact, the Pauline Christus Victor themes require investigation with an awareness of the complex intermingling of various early church traditions and the unique witness of Paul in his confrontation with heresy and opposition. In Paul the historical reliability of the resurrection tradition is taken for granted without undue discussion. We have abundant evidence that the apostle interpreted and expanded upon these inherited doctrines in an attempt to communicate the gospel to the gentile world. The cosmic importance of Christ is a constant train of thought in the apostle's refashioning of the early Christian kerygma. An indissoluble union between cosmology and soteriology makes it impossible to treat the subject of victory

¹Lindeskog, op. cit., p. 272.

²Schweizer, "Jesus Christus Herr ueber Kirche und Welt," p. 177.

over death in isolation. Poetic imagery and mythical language paint in broad strokes God's dramatic and eschatological acts of salvation in Christ. For Paul nothing short of a radical new creation of the world could attempt to communicate this divine atonement action. We may understand the outpouring of the lifegiving spirit as a new creation event through Christ who is the spirit-power. Mankind, by sinful acts of rebellion has exchanged God's glory, become part of creation, animal-like or demonic. The obedience of the last Adam, in a limited sense, brings to humanity the possibility of a restored δόξα and imago dei along with the position of lordship over creation. We must be quick to add, however, that Christ alone is at present the sole εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ .¹ Restitution of paradise is a subsidiary concept to the central emphasis of a radically new creation.

Paul resists the doxological "already-fulfilled" aspects of victory over death and this world which are implied in the Gnostic type heresy at Corinth. In designating Christ as the imago dei Paul affirms in the coming of Jesus the very presence, glory and power of God the Creator of life. Pauline christology clearly affirms Christ's cosmic importance as the mediator of a new life and new creation. In the presence of a Holy God, there can be no life without righteousness and no righteousness without the obedience of faith. In Jesus Christ alone, who unlike Adam is completely and utterly obedient even unto death, new life has once more broken through upon this earthly sphere and a new creation is possible. The lifecreating power of the Creator God finds frequent expression and is at the center of the Pauline discussion of victory over death and this world.

¹ An exception to this statement is I Cor. xi. 7. However, cf., supra, p. 295, n. 3.

Baptism affirms a radical new creation, a return to and emergence from pre-cosmic chaos symbolized by water. Baptism "parenensis" urges the believer to continue in the spirit-power and new life after having "put on" Christ.

Within the undisputed epistles of Paul we may find evidence for a type of cosmic christology. We must be careful, however, to distinguish some elements in Colossians and Ephesians from the rest of Pauline literature. Christ is not victor because he was co-creator of the world and thus head of creation from the beginning. Too often interpreters have bordered upon portraying a mythical super-angel christology and cosmic ecclesia victor concept by their over-interest in the doxological aspects of Colossians and Ephesians. This affection for an over-enthusiastic "already" can become more like heretical "Enthusiasmus" and less like Paul. We have insisted that aspects of monotheistic motifs concerning the one God were characteristic of early Christian mission kerygma, and become used with reference to the role of the one Lord Jesus Christ. This process seems to be a natural result of Paul's attempt to communicate the gospel to gentile minds. As the power of the one God is transferred to the one Lord Jesus Christ a type of cosmic christology is expressed. Christ is God's own $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ over all things and kosmokrator designatus until the parousia.

Conclusion: Death is vanquished in Christ, who alone, by his righteousness and complete obedience has broken through the strangelhold of sin which is "the sting of death." God the Creator, who brings life from death and cosmos from chaos, exalts Christ to the position of the one $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, the mediator of a new cosmic creation and kosmokrator designatus until the parousia when God Himself will be all in all.

Our hope of victory over death is presupposed in and cannot be separated from our hope in Christ's appointed lordship over "all things."

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE

CHRISTUS VICTOR:

A STUDY IN THE THEOLOGY OF ST. PAUL

This thesis has attempted to demonstrate the abundant evidence even within the undisputed epistles of Paul that: (1) The apostle Paul constructs his atonement-theology in dramatic, apocalyptic and cosmic thought patterns; that: (2) The theme of Christus Victor is no ornamental postscript to the apostle's atonement-theology but is to be found at the very heart of pre-Pauline and Pauline kerygma and that therefore: (3) It is of the utmost importance that New Testament scholarship make every effort to discern the nature of the atonement as victory.

Much discussion has been generated by Aulén who in 1930 outlined what he considered to be the "classical" or "dramatic" view of the atonement. According to this interpretation it was argued that the declaration of Christ as victor over demonic powers most closely resembles the doctrine of Paul and the early church Fathers. In our thesis we have taken up this issue which in the main has been confined to discussion in the circles of systematics and dogmatics. By submitting this doctrine to the scrutiny of modern New Testament scholarship we hope to discover whether there is sufficient evidence to make claims for its paramount importance. Unfortunately, past New Testament scholarship has most often limited its discussion of this

question to the frequently disputed epistles of Colossians and Ephesians. It was our purpose, therefore, to pursue some aspects of the Christus Victor theme within the undisputed epistles of Paul.

In this work we have insisted, first of all, upon a history of scholarship study as a most necessary prerequisite to New Testament exegesis. Our motive for the application of this method was to ensure that in approaching the exegesis of Pauline passages on the atonement we were not perpetuating some of the same mistaken presuppositions which had already proved inappropriate by a consensus fidelium of past New Testament scholarship. It was our contention that many New Testament scholars had especially ignored the rich store of German New Testament literature on this subject.

Though we do not here repeat the evidence and conclusions from each of our separate chapters, it is essential that we now marshal our arguments into an ordered and logical case.

After investigating the field of scholarship upon the subject of demonic powers in Pauline theology, we secured the following conclusions: (1) Though instructive, knowledge about the demonic powers in early literature by itself fails to grasp the complex and unique dogmatic usage which Paul makes when referring to these cosmic forces. (2) Two world wars in our generation, the quintessence of evil's demonic dimension, ^{have} ~~has~~ brought scholarship to a humble reversal of its former "enlightened" position that the demonic is only the superstitious remains of primitive thinking. (3) Pauline Christianity will admit no absolute dualism; in this is the apostle's primordial affirmation of victory over the demonic realm. (4) This cosmic language although "impressionistic"¹ is not merely "rhetorical";

¹Cf., supra, p. 27.

in unashamed clarity New Testament scholarship has ascribed to this power of darkness a reality and activity the nature and relevance of which it is our obligation to explain. (5) If Christus Victor embodies the essence of early Christian hope, despite some dearth of precise New Testament evidence upon this question, we must seek to interpret how this atonement victory in Christ is brought about for the sake of apprehending this faith of the early church.

Because of these conclusions, we cannot study the Christus Victor theme in isolation from the entirety of the apostle's atonement doctrine. The concepts of flesh, law, sin and death occupy most of the apostle's attention in his presentation of the atonement. Therefore, in our study we concentrate our efforts of investigation upon these four aspects. Again and again, throughout our study, it was discovered that no consideration of the atonement is possible without noticing that Paul is very much aware that mankind in this world is somehow in the grip of demonic forces from which now in Christ's atonement action emancipation has been realized.

In Paul the word $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ seems at times to characterize a demonic aspect of mankind. This unique Pauline usage of $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ resists classification along side of any one set of comparative-religion parallels. Unlike the Old Testament, Paul does not merely say that mankind as $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is "weak"; nor with the Greeks that mankind as $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ has a "sensual" or "material" nature. Both these definitions imply what man is by nature; Paul is more alarmed by what man becomes by choice. Mankind as $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ becomes mankind as " $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ -only." For Paul $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ comes to have a demonic sovereignty of its own as man is possessed by sin. It is not the nature of $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ which is evil but the putting of one's trust in " $\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ -only." Putting one's trust in

σάρξ takes on two forms in Paul: (1) Sins of the flesh include of course man's weakness and "desire" (ἐπιθυμία) to do moral evil. Through the influence of Augustinian theology, however, this has often been associated only with sexual sins. But there is also another side to the Pauline doctrine of σάρξ which is equally important. (2) Sins of the flesh include man's trust in himself and even his religious "desire" (ἐπιθυμία) to win righteousness on his own. Faithfulness to the Pauline witness demands that we see both the profligate and the pious as being in equal danger of becoming taken over and possessed as a result of a "σάρξ -only" orientation. Mankind as σάρξ is neutral ground and yet an arena where a conflict is waged. As "σάρξ -only" man has put his trust in this world and self and has thereby become the occupied territory of a demonic enemy. This distinction between σάρξ and "σάρξ -only" represents respectively the "neutral" and "demonic" usage, both of which are present in Paul. Without apology to twentieth century man, the apostle Paul openly asserts that mankind can become possessed by the demonic.

Even in man's religious obedience to God's law he may also be possessed by the "desires" (ἐπιθυμίας) of the flesh and become an instrument of evil. To attempt to obtain a righteousness of one's own is to misuse God's law and become "σάρξ -only." The continued existence of the demonic in this world depends upon its activity of converting to evil purposes the good and the holy. The law in itself is holy, being neither evil nor demonic. And yet Paul associates the law with the demonic στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου and designates it as a part of this passing evil aeon. Paul defines the law as holy and good but yet powerless to save. Because of the law's remote holiness it throws man back on himself to become "σάρξ -only."

Only in Christ who fully enters and participates in our σάρξ sphere may we see triumph over a "σάρξ -only" orientation. Whether or not one fulfills the law he may still be subject to the mercy of the demonic.

What then is this mysterious demonic power which takes possession of man? The unambiguous answer of Paul is sin! The apostle shows no speculative interest in Satan and his company. In designating sin and not Satan as the real demonic power of this age, Paul tempers and modifies early Christian demonology.

The Pauline doctrine of sin is ridiculed by such generalized definitions as moral "error" or "mistake." For Paul, sin is not a passive something with man doing the acting. Man becomes not the active agent but the passive "instrument" (Rom. vi. 13) of sin's demonic force. In fact sin does to man exactly what in ancient traditions was the role of demon powers. Sin kills, destroys, seduces, causes rebellion, enslaves and possesses the individual. In man's desire for self-sufficiency and contentment in being "σάρξ -only" he flees the presence of a forgiving God and is exposed to the corroding forces of guilt which maintain him in his position of estrangement where his sin takes possession of him.

In Paul's struggle to portray the demonic will of man's sin he uses almost interchangeably the concepts of sin-possessed man and death-existence or a living death. Death does not exist as a part of God's created order but is a foreign element in the cosmos introduced by man as an inherent part or "wages" of sin. To sin is to be in a death-existence. All withdrawal from God is the absence of life. Death is a destructive power of chaos which would attempt to throw back God's life-creating mighty hand. The lostness of man and

cosmos describes a chosen counter-position of estrangement and isolation from the life-creating power of God. Because mankind in his sin and death-existence takes up a Satanic counter-position against God, what is implied in the doctrine of hell and realm of darkness cannot be dismissed without the peril of an incomplete view of Pauline theology. Christianity takes no naïve view of death. Death is never merely a friend or that which "seems" to be. It is the most final of this world's demonic realities. Man does not benignly accommodate himself to defeat nor rationalize away the harsh realities of final destruction in death, God's last enemy. Victory despite and triumph over this most dreaded cosmic power is the hope expressed in the Christus Victor theme of Paul. This is why apocalyptic and mythical language pour forth in abundance whenever a discussion of sin and death is undertaken in Pauline theology. Only such a dramatic picture of man's situation can strike the authentic note of a Pauline Christianity which had no time for anything less than life and death matters.

In the second section of our study we attempted to prove that the Christus Victor themes of Paul are expressed in cosmic-apocalyptic language and that this emphasis is found in the earliest creeds and confessions of the first Christian community. By showing this doctrine of the atonement firmly planted within the early kerygmatic and liturgical sections of Paul's letters, we hoped to build the case that the Christus Victor motif is no late product of the church nor is it an assimilation of outside Gnostic ideas.

How does God meet the challenge of man's contentment to be "οὐ μόνον" -only"? We have established as an assured result of Biblical scholarship the definition of spirit as a power-epiphany. The gift of πνεῦμα is a declaration of "Immanuel," God's presence with us as guarantee and assurance of victory in the temptation to be

" σάρξ -only." In Pauline theology πνεῦμα and σάρξ are set in an opposition described in terms of two cosmic powers, one against the other. This opposition portrays a cosmic struggle. Paul's hope is that man through Christ may come to a πνεῦμα existence instead of " σάρξ -only" orientation. The "Enthusiasmus" opponents of Paul in II Corinthians forced the apostle to identify the wonder-working power of the Spirit with the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. Christ is in σάρξ but yet the incarnation of God's πνεῦμα. Christ's coming to this sphere of σάρξ is an entrance into enemy-occupied territory. In this conflict of σάρξ and πνεῦμα the apostle Paul points the believer to a victory won through the person of Christ. In Christ is the hope of release from a " σάρξ -only" orientation. Christ is the "bridgehead" or "citadel of holiness" where God's spirit-power is triumphantly present even though Christ's incarnation is fully within the σάρξ sphere. If we ask how Christ attains this victory the apostle Paul seems to indicate two factors: who Christ is and what he did. (1) Christ is the pre-existent Son of God and (2) he was completely obedient which implies sinlessness and victory of holiness within the world of σάρξ .

Two early creeds confirm that the above description of the Christus Victor is a part of the earliest church tradition. In Rom. 1. 3-4 we have before us two hymns which appear to represent different streams of tradition in the early church. In verse 3, probably from Jerusalem kerygma, Christ's κατὰ σάρκα existence in this world as a descendant of David is coupled with verse 4, a hymn either representing the more Hellenistic side of the early church or perhaps Paul's own composition. In verse 4 Christ is victor; he is exalted to the throne of God and "designated" (ὁρισθέντος) Son of

God in power. Resurrection and exaltion are part of this same victory theme which presupposes also Christ's obedience Rom. v. 12-21; Phil. ii. 5-11. The full christological confession "Jesus Christ our Lord" Rom. i. 4 has its "Sitz im Leben" in the worshipping community of early Hellenistic Christianity. In I Cor. vi. 11 the baptismal creed scrupulously parallels being baptized into the "name" (=power) of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God. Again it should be noted that the full title of the Hellenistic church confession $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'Ιησοῦς Χριστός is in evidence.

As we considered the law in the atonement-theology of Paul it was discovered that the old covenant is temporary and allied with this passing world. The desire on the part of man to be under the demonic στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal. iv. 3, 9) and the desire to be under the law (Gal. iii. 21) both signify a slavery from which we have been set free in Christ. The idea of release from this slavery is evident in traces of liturgical tradition of the early church (i.e. Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 15). Death to the law (Rom. vii. 1-6) and death of the old man in baptism (Rom. vi. 1ff.) give to this Pauline concept of "freedom from" an important place in early Christian theology. Trust in the achievement of one's own righteousness by fulfilling the law is the same as being oriented in the "σάρξ -only." Fulfilling the law does not and cannot release one from the demonic power of sin. In Christ alone man can "boast" and not in the law. In the liturgical passage of Rom. iii. 25-26 Christ is the presence of God's δικαιοσύνη -power which signifies the clear break ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ with the past age of the law, when God "passed over former sins." The law is a temporary and indirect revelation of God. By contrast, Christ supersedes the law precisely because he is the pre-existent one, implying he was

eternal and with the Father from the beginning. This concept of victory because of Christ's pre-existent and eternal nature coming to this world, submitting to obedience and being exalted is one of the most common themes of the established creeds and confessions of the early church.

In the discussion of the nature of the victory over sin, our argument in favor of a cosmic Christus Victor interpretation of the atonement was based upon two main insights: (1) The Pauline "parenesis" tradition urges the believer to remain in the power-relationship of $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\eta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ which has been secured by the righteous and sinless act of the obedience of Christ. (2) Paul expands upon the early sacrificial and cultic tradition to portray to the gentile world Christ's atonement action in cosmic terms.

The dualistic structure of "parenesis" tradition illustrates that obedience and disobedience are radical concepts. The complete obedience of Christ establishes a lordship of righteousness and holiness which reverses the cosmic rebellion and fall of Adam. In Adam's disobedience, sin enters the world (Rom. v. 12), obtains a "bridgehead" or "foothold" in the $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ -sphere while Christ's obedience has created a "bridgehead" or "foothold" for man's existence of holiness "in Christ." Disobedience is not the failure to do good but a positive rebellion, an attempt to set up a counter-kingdom of Satanic action. This radical understanding of obedience and disobedience which is firmly established in the early "parenesis" tradition is imperative for the understanding of the Christus Victor theme in Pauline atonement-theology.

The obedience of Christ presupposes a victory over sin and temptation. According to the Pauline view Christ is the only obedient one and thus the only victor over sin. Therefore, in Christ's obedience

is pictured the setting up of a lordship and this does not represent an ethical ideal which mankind can hope to imitate. Paul does not present the victory of Christ's obedience in mythical terms. In Phil. ii. 6-11 the mythical drama is broken through by the Pauline addition to the hymn in vs. 8 ("even death on a cross"). Thus the earthly reality of the struggle and victory is underlined in the concept of Christ's complete obedience. The breakdown of a strict Adam-Christ parallel in Rom. v. 12-21 emphasizes that for Paul this obedience of Christ represented a completely new situation for the cosmos. Christ was not a "new Adam" or "new Moses" but the lord of a completely new aeon of obedience of faith.

Paul expands the early Christian kerygma to a universalistic emphasis in order that the gospel message might be relevant for his mission to the gentiles. The fact that there is evidence for this process corresponds with our contention that the cosmic stress of the Christus Victor theme is no late addition. We see in Rom. iii. 26 the expansion on what appears to be a piece of early Jewish-Christian liturgy in vs. 25. The διχαλοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ through Jesus Christ is made a reality to the believer in this new age. In such passages as II Cor. v. 18ff. we notice the combination of the non-cultic aspects of καταλλαγή of the world and the establishment of cosmic peace alongside of the pro nobis elements of Jerusalem tradition. We see in addition to these pro nobis themes the extension of God's atonement action to include the Pauline concept of the iustificatio impii, a salvation meant not only of "us" but of "all." It is logical for us to suppose that this adjustment of the kerygma toward the more universalistic aspects of atonement-theology was the beginning of early Christian mission kerygma as it would have been expressed by

Paul in reference to the gentile situation.

Victory over death and Christ's lordship over this world is based upon the monotheistic mission kerygma of the early church. The apostle Paul sees in the exaltation of Christ the declaration of a transference of power and rights from the one God of creation to the one Lord Jesus Christ. Christ is thus the mediator of a radically new cosmic creation which in some sense restores the lost imago dei, δόξα and lordship of man over creation. However, the Pauline emphasis is that it is Christ alone who is victor and lord. Those who are "in Christ" participate in this victory not as an "already" but as a "not-yet" of Christian confession and hope. The restoration of lordship over creation by the once and for all action of Christ, the last Adam, encompasses also the defeat of death. In the confession KYPIOS IHSOUS XPISTOS which is a part of the kerygma from the early, Hellenistic-Christian, worshipping community, we find declared an unmistakable Christus Victor faith. In Paul there exists an indissoluble union of cosmology and soteriology. Calling upon the "name" of the κύριος in baptism and the confessions of early Christianity declares in no uncertain terms that the one Lord Jesus Christ has been exalted to the position of power as God's own kosmokrator designatus until the parousia when God will be all in all.

Some implications of this study.---It is essential that we conclude with some suggestions and recommendations for the present-day significance of this thesis. No such study should be conducted in complete seclusion and studious exile from the meaning that these theological results might hold for the message and mission of the church today. Here we list briefly a few of the more important implications which seem to have emerged from our examination of the Pauline

atonement-theology.

(1) In this thesis, we have been able to treat only some aspects of the Christus Victor theme. However, we have found sufficient evidence to recommend that further attention by subsequent New Testament scholarship should be given to this interpretation of the atonement. Such studies should make every effort to deal faithfully with the various streams of early church tradition as we have attempted to do.

(2) If we are correct in supposing that the Christus Victor theme comprises an important part of the early Christian kerygma and is at times the Pauline expansion of early Jerusalem tradition, this interpretation would prove a healthy corrective to many of the moralistic atonement theories so often associated with the cultic-language present in Paul.

(3) In preferring the idea of the demonic to Satan or demons we do not misrepresent; neither do we take anything away from Pauline theology. A shift of emphasis, as we noted earlier, is already evident in the apostle's argument. Paul designates sin and death as the real demonic entities of this world. This understanding of the workings of demonic power, without "demythologizing" any more than did Paul, makes as much sense to twentieth century man as it did in the days of the apostle.

(4) The Pauline emphasis upon the demonic aspect of sin coincides with Reinhold Niebuhr's interpretation of sin as giving unlimited devotion to limited values. Modern affluent society of the west is perilously near a "σάρξ -only" orientation. By Christian proclamation modern man must be warned of the actual demonic peril in which he stands.

(5) Victory over death and this world does not come about by retreat or shutting one's eyes to harsh demonic realities. Christian

preaching should never be guilty of lapsing into the Platonic and view death as a "friend."

(6) In the light of our study, it is distressing that the preponderance of existential language in present-day theological scholarship obscures this demonic aspect of sin in a maze of anthropological verbosity.

(7) In our present age of science, the relation of soteriology and cosmology should be further taken up, especially since it has been illustrated that in the theology of Paul these two subjects comprise an intimate coalescence.

(8) In an age of rising nationalism, Christ's universal claims should be a key element of the Christian message for twentieth century man.

(9) For Paul, Christ's rights over all creation buttressed by the faith in one God, Creator and rightful claimant of all, should constitute the basic theological thrust of our present day mission kerygma.

The "good news" of the early church and the message for the twentieth century should be the same ---- Christus Victor!

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